

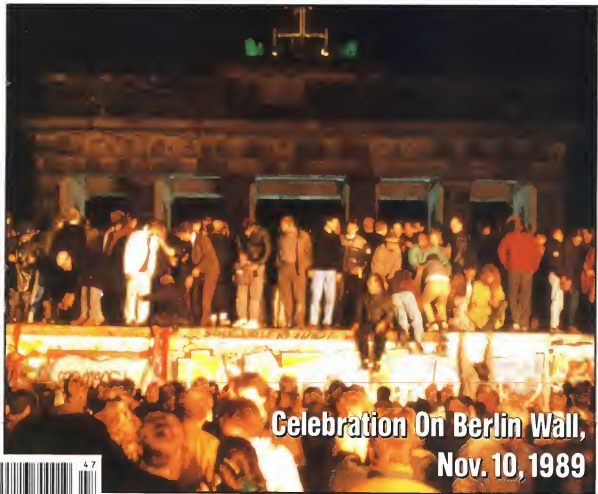
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSWEEKLY NOVEMBER 10, 1989 \$2.15

Maclean's

STEPPING
BACK FROM THE
BRINK IN OTTAWA

FREE AT LAST!

The March To Democracy In The Eastern Bloc



Celebration On Berlin Wall,
Nov. 10, 1989



"I just saw what I want
for Christmas.
And I bet he drinks Johnnie Walker"



Good taste is always an asset.



Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 20, 1989 VOL. 152 NO. 47

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COVER

FREE AT LAST!

It was a week of unprecedented change in the 40-year history of Communist East Germany. First, the government resigned, then the Politburo and, finally, the Berlin Wall—which has divided East and West Berlin since 1961—was opened up. As jubilant Berliners danced on the once-forbidding barrier, the prospect of German reunification became a fast-looming possibility. — 44

SPECIAL REPORT

STEPPING BACK FROM THE BRINK

There were tense moments in Ottawa when Clyde Wells's attacks on the March Lake across threatened to send Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa strolling out of a First Ministers' conference on the economy. In the end, the leaders agreed on the need to keep talking—but on little else. — 22



FILMS

THE ART OF SEDUCTION

Mike Bennett's new movie, *Valmont*, is based on the 18th-century story of sexual intrigue at last year's *Dangerous Liaisons*. Featuring *Unforgotten* Vancouver swimmer Patrick Swayze in his first major adult-erotic role, *Valmont* gives a unique treatment to the tale of seduction and treachery. — 32



LETTERS

FALSE IMPRESSION

Your Oct. 30 cover ("Shock and after-shock") attacked an "unsubstantiated" story by the San Francisco Bay area saying "its done" and "quake survivors" distrust the extent of loss of life, giving the impression that a huge portion of the population was wiped out. Please remind yourself in reporting the facts.

Ann Caplow
Montreal

The covers of *Maclean's* and *Time* reporting the Bay area earthquake revealed a difference between Canadian and American practices. Our national magazines chose to show the faces of a grieving couple, whereas *Time* showed the destruction of some real estate.

Rudy Klassen
Calgary

SENATE MYTH

I commended the Senate for holding an important and distinctive role ("Old powers, new strengths," *Canada*, Oct. 30). The spirited interplay of opinions certainly lends the need myth of sleepy old men who make subsequent roads to the Senate chamber.

Louis Quenon,
Ottawa

It is tragic to watch the efforts under way to restore power to the Senate. Parliament is the greatest political achievement in history—an achievement that seems to be disappearing before our very eyes. Goodbye Canada.

Frederic Lether,
Shelford, Ont.

'PLUM' ANACHRONISM

Nice try, Alberta ("The Triple E option," *Special Report*, Oct. 30). Plum puns are scarce, but legitimizing an anachronism is no substitute for abolition of the Senate.

Donald A. Fraser,
Brampton, Ont.

PTA EROSION

Peter C. Newman's observations on the effects of the Free Trade Agreement applied to ("Opening up of the 21st century," *Business Week*, Oct. 30). Has our manufacturing base been eroded so quickly? If so, we will slip this towel. Canada has not long to go before annexation by the United States.

Daniel Pinney,
Richmond, B.C.



Quake survivors 'sensationalized'

Newsmen should look beyond his photos of the PTA for the cause of our loss of industry. Government's methods of collecting revenues from manufacturers make costs too high. Many Canadians are coming to realize that we must be competitive. As long as the cost of government is charged into the cost of production, this will be impossible.

John F. Manning,
Forest, Ont.

PASSAGES

HOSPITALIZED: Panam-Olympic swimming champion Winston Davis, 35, with severe knee and spinal injuries, after he was struck by a car outside a medical bar in suburban Montreal. Davis, born in Guilford, Ont., was a gold and silver medalist of the 1974 Olympics, a silver medalist of the 1980 Games and former world record holder in the 200-m breaststroke. At week's end, he was in critical condition, in a coma and on a life-support system, in a Montreal hospital. His girlfriend, Donna Carad, 32, told police that at about 12:20 a.m. on Saturday, Davis—leaving for his last trip—had been arguing with three men who got into a car, which then knocked Davis headfirst into another car.



COURTESY OF THE PTA

PLEADED: Guilty of perjury, former U.S. air force major-general Richard Secord, 56, a leading participant in the Iran-contra crisis scandal, which rocked the Reagan administration, in a Washington, D.C., federal district court. Second indictment lying when he testified that he did not know that Oliver North was receiving financial benefits from arms sales to Iran and Nicaragua which he faces a maximum five years in prison and a fine of up to \$250,000.

HOSPITALIZED: Betty Dukakis, 52, wife of the 1985 Democratic presidential candidate and vice governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, after drinking a small quantity of rubbing alcohol, in the intensive-care unit of a Boston hospital. Dukakis, who in 1982 was treated for a 26-year addiction to amphetamines, underwent a month-long

'DOGGY DON'T'

In his Oct. 34 column, Alton Tupperingham commits a doggy don't. "Recall: Blackbird has the men of a wounded basket bound" ("Ottawa's usual air of surrealism"). Surely, Tupperingham is right—but if he seeks a drugg do, how about what a wounded basket might stand out for: "chow down?"

Myra Wick,
Winnipeg

MORCH LAKE MENACE

If ratified, the Morch Lake accord will belittle Canada and subvert the message of the new 154 battle plan. "Cover, Now, 40. Our sovereignty will be threatened by entrepreneurial greed—English or French—and the disintegration of all provinces will be made."

Merle Papadopoulos,
Montreal

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, addresses and telephone numbers. Most correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's House Inc., 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

the Bay

POUR
MONSIEUR

POUR
MONSIEUR

AU DE TOILETTE
CONCENTRÉE
SPRAY

CHANEL

treatment for alcohol abuse in a private Newport, R.I., clinic last February and had spent *Nicholas Anonymous*.

SENTENCES: Donald Dale Getty, 33, the eldest son of Alberta Petroleum Don Getty, to 18 months in jail and one year probation after pleading guilty to two counts of trafficking cocaine and one count of possession by Court of Queen's Bench Justice Clarence Yoncoski, in Edmonton. Getty is in a drug-rehabilitation program for his 18-year siblings.

ACQUITTED: Hollywood actor Todd Bridges, 24, of attempted murder and attempted voluntary manslaughter, in the shooting of a man at a Los Angeles crack house, by a Los Angeles Superior Court jury.

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LETTERS

OLFACTORY INSULT

The article "Confronting the Invasor" (Toronto, Oct. 16) leaves me curious and disappointed. Various opinions are expressed on how to eliminate the olfactory insult of vapors from the Invasor's Scent John N.B. Kraft still. Yet no comparison is drawn with other similar Canadian operations. In the 1950s and 1960s, I grew up in the largest of the pulp-and-paper towns dotted across northwestern Ontario. They not only smelled horrible, but also produced environmental nuisances of the head on a Genset, sprinkled liberally with rusted. When I left Thunder Bay in 1963, however, sulphurous odors were a memory from the distant past. I can't believe if this circumstance could be replicated at Scent John, but I wish you had examined the issue.

David Marston
Toronto

ALMIGHTY BACKSIDES

I Barbara Ansel graduates and picks up wherever one of the tricolours. Fortune 500 symbolically offers their dignity (includes to the world to know that is certainly her privilege). ("In defence of the freedom to spend," Column, Oct. 23) But those who react otherwise hardly deserve to be classified as the ingrained perhaps typically nervous, fussy, Maltese (the deceptively low column). I can also assure Ansel that, even though I am not less money than a "low-income," she can draw herself in a sea of liquidity, underwrite and renege dues and I won't but say sleep over it. I don't know which you must believe—her ability to swallow despite the poverty-alleviating capabilities of Saturday-night lenders with those of ruthless lenders, or her righteous approval of every move made by Geoffrey Stirling, Malcolm Forbes, et al.

Thomas Pashak
Magway Falls, Ont.

Fred Brunning should have better than to turn the journey to offend Barbara Ansel. ("New standards of watched excess," An American View, Sept. 11) Ansel concedes ("In defence of the freedom to spend," Oct. 23) that Brunning is entitled to his opinion, but his opinion is a rotten one—provenably multiplying it. Most honest people would admit to enjoying rich people's ability to spend money without causing the cost. However, what Brunning overlooked was the challenge to Ansel's conscience. Fred Brunning: how could you even last that Barbara Ansel might be a cheat?

Michael Jones
Toronto

In the "great threat of our age" the authorial enthusiasm of essay? Ansel takes in her Oct. 23 column. Surely, every major back in the streets and on the subway, but the main focus belong to greed and government. It's obviously said that the rich grow out of the poor grow poorer. And those of us in the middle are change for nothing it happens while getting up with the hungry government and a worried elite that pays little or no taxes. That is not every. It is the slow-burning fuse of frustration.

Marlene Jones
Guelph, Ont.



Along pulp mill messengers of Ontario's shores

Fred Brunning (Sept. 11) and Barbara Ansel (Oct. 23) both over the same point of view. However, if I were as dumb of help, Brunning's person I would want to turn to, accept compromise and concern were quite evident in his column. Ansel, on the other hand, is missing her calling. She should apply for a job with the federal Conservatives or Margaret Thatcher. This sad old article confirms an arrogant personality that would perfectly suit the kind of country this money-oriented government is trying to create.

Barbara Mount Fox
Stouffville, Ont.

'MOTHBALLING' THE TRAINS

I was a happy coincidence that Charles J. Gordon's column "The ball sits in Ottawa's court" (Toronto View, Oct. 18), on how rapidly growing numbers of Canadians see the consequences as the most important national issue, and "Cutting back Via" (Kinship) appeared in the same issue of *Maritime*. It is because very apparent that the rising stock and other equipment withdrawn from service at the



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**"Couldn't
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this year, so
we bought Gold
instead."**



LIGHT RUM



LETTERS

tone of the Via Rail outbreak must be "truth-telling" and acknowledgment for early use when Canadian routes we must use public transportation very much more and our cars very much less as an important step toward survival.

*Jack C. Clark,
Ladysmith, B.C.*

Charters of Thunder Bay and all other communities along the GPK route from North Bay to Kenora are fighting hard over the loss of the Canadian train service. Why would any resident of Thunder Bay drive 250 km on a gravel road to board the Supercontinental at Armstrong? Passengers traveling along the north shore of Lake Superior view a panoramic vista second to none in North America. Your map accompanying "Cutting back Via" is misleading. The transcontinental route is blue, indicating Via. After criticism, it should be shown going north of Sudbury through Capreol and north of Kenora through Monte.

*Rita G. Belton,
Thunder Bay, Ont.*

ORIGINS IRRELEVANT

Alex Polkington makes a good point ("A small compact of rich families," *Column*, Oct. 23) with the example of K. C. Irving, whose wealth was mostly derived within this country. But he is wrong to accuse the British-owned and Thomsen's has attack. Most of their fortunes have been brought here as a result of international operations. From any Canadian perspective, this is a good thing. We should be glad.

*Gerard D. Waite,
Thornhill, Ont.*

Sorry Doc, you missed the boat in "A small compact of rich families." Even if all the taxes you describe had their assets nationalized, liquidated and the resulting cash was placed in the federal coffers it only "may" pay the interest on the national debt for the better part of a year. Let us look at the big picture.

*John L. Ryan,
Victoria*

CATCH OF THE DAY

In "Fragile state" (*Canada*, Dec. 23), the writers recommend that Newfoundland fishermen be reintroduced, adding "But, in the minds of local residents there was clearly a catch." It will not be fish.

*Edgar G. Goss,
Dartmouth, N.S.*

SHAVING TECHNOLOGY PERFECTED



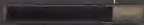
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Its architecture has been redesigned for 30% greater structural integrity and 20% increased torsional rigidity to ensure a feeling of quality and substance.

Larger in every major exterior dimension, the new Accord has 120 mm increased wheelbase to improve ride quality, and interior passenger comfort.

Along with the Accord's larger wheels, there are larger brakes: 260 mm ventilated discs in front and 220 mm drum brakes in rear for safer, quick stops.

Cargo capacity has increased to 34.4 cubic feet.

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HONDA

*Remember your seat belts.
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Handling Inspired By The Curvature Of The Earth.



You will immediately sense an even greater degree of precise control, flat cornering and smooth ride as provided by the Accord's redesigned double wishbone suspension system.

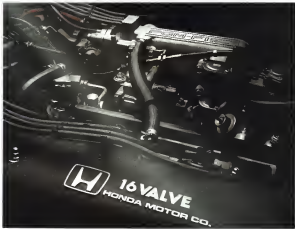
The Accord's agility is further enhanced by a two speed sensitive, variable assist power steering system. It nicely maintains road feel while keeping steering effort at an easy, comfortable level.

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The Accord serves up a new 2.2 litre, 16-valve single overhead camshaft engine with electronically controlled multi-point fuel injection. There is 125 H.P. for LX and EX models, 130 H.P. for EX-R.

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HONDA

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Headroom has comfortably increased by 35 mm. Front seats are now 35 mm deeper with 30 mm more underseat footroom for rear passengers.

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Passive restraint seat belt system not available in Canada.

1990 Accord
HONDA

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Unique

OPENING NOTES

TV viewers eavesdrop on the stars, Edward Ney loses his chef, and Toronto's subways are 'clean, friendly and cheap'

RAIDING THE KITCHEN

He began his culinary career in 1976 at the age of 18. And during a 10-year stint that began in Ottawa in 1983, Quebec City-born Stephen Gervais established himself as one of the capital's most independent chefs. He did so by working for St. N. Ambassador Thomas Miller, but Miller left their post last June. And shortly after his replacement, Edward Ney, arrived in Ottawa, Canada's second passport in New York City—career diplomat Anthony Lytton—rejoined the U.S. Embassy's kitchen. Eyebrows arched as the chef's kitchen during the ambassador's tenure in Ottawa, and the quality of the food that Gervais served on these occasions duly fueled Lytton's recruiting drive. As the Nays searched for a new chef, Gervais's move has also caused personal changes at Ney's official Ottawa household after two years' service in Stornoway as Opposition Leader John Tamar's butler. Gervais's wife, Marlene Jean, quit her job in order to accompany her husband to New York. In this case, the chef did it.

Gervais: one of the most talked-about chefs in Ottawa



A crash course in road safety

A 12-ft, 10-ft-higher launched when 20-year-old Robert Bellum and his wife, Theresa, 30, took a well-worn route from Prince Edward Island home in West Devon, a small town 350 km west of Charlottetown. The reason: in September, 1986, a neighbor accidentally crashed his Ford pickup truck into their house after missing a turn in the road. After that, the Bellums moved a sandwich roll three feet high and 40 feet long—where their friends, named "The Wall of West Devon"—but on Oct. 27 came vindication: the Bellums heard a crash on the Great Wall perimeter. There, a another Ford pickup was the same man who crashed there in 1986. The man was only slightly bruised, and police charges are pending. Re-

called Theresa Bellum: "I stayed in my husband and said, 'Oh, no, not here again.' Safety began at home."



Bellum house and wall: slightly bruised

MESSAGES OF CONTROVERSY

The illustration shows three youths waving a Palestinian flag, while the text on 100 advert Washington, D.C., subway cars urges passengers to recall their congressmen and voice support for Palestinian independence. A 1986 of campaign by the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee—showing a woman covering her face in tears—sparked protests from Jewish groups. This year, there is no such reaction. And a spokesman for the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington: "You don't give the anti-semitic publicity."

Finding truth in the underground

New York City film-maker Susan Francis argues that subways "expose a kind of truth about cities." Toronto's underground system, according to Francis, is "clean, friendly, uncrowded and cheap." Last spring, Francis visited 13 subways across Europe, Asia and North America along Subway Safari, a one-hour documentary scheduled to air on PBS TV stations on Nov. 30. According to Francis, Toronto's subway did with Madrid and Seoul to take second place behind Calcutta, India. Begging's system, in which Francis said "showing in the order of the day," came in dead last. Underground, says Francis, can teach you the top



Bryan (left), Gumbel: electronic eavesdropping and a bonus for viewers

A DISH FILLED WITH CANDOR

Credit sheets of media news stars are a bonus far more than their million-dollar salaries across the country. Even basic dishes costing less than \$1,000 offer viewers to pick up comments on live satellite broadcasts after an election ended an irregular program. Dish owners who watched on Oct. 20 broadcast of NBC TV's Today show saw last Bryan Gumbel in San Francisco promoting a celebrity golf tournament in NBC's Nightly News last Tuesday—after Today had broadcast last to its own studios.

New York City had similar electronic eavesdropping in Canada. According to CBC TV's parliamentary journalist chief Billy Adams in Ottawa, during one recent provincial election campaign in Western Canada, several viewers picked up satellite transmissions of CBC reporters rehearsing possible voting outcomes in key ridings. Damaged, some viewers complained to complain that they did not appreciate receiving privacy results several days before the actual election was scheduled to take place.

THE SPIRIT OF EMILY POST LIVES ON

Officials at McCall's Parents Ltd. say that sales of the firm's new television line, Monovision, have exceeded their expectations. Still, the Pleasantville, N.J.-based food giant recently had to recall a television set that emphasized the fact that one of the products, a hamburger-and-french-fries combination, is ready to eat in four minutes. Initially, the ad showed a youngster riding his bike through a giant puddle as he hurried home to dinner—without pausing to apologize for soaking a couple who were sitting on a bench near his route. But as a result of numerous complaints from viewers about the boy's rude behavior, McCall's swiftly withdrew the 30-second ad—in order to wipe the splash scene. Even in the high-pressure world of TV advertising, good manners still count for something.

How to clean cash

In sun-drenched Miami, an acknowledged centre for a booming trade in illegal drugs, lawyer Charles Le



Lawyer: 200 subscribers

Imago has launched an eight-page monthly newsletter entitled Money Laundering Alert. Entrepreneurs that he has 300 subscribers, including several Canadians, are all engaged in such legitimate pursuits as law and banking. Still, he admits that criminals trying to hide drug profits are also potential customers. Now that is service journalism with a twist.

Football ambassadors

The Canadian Football League has replaced its Super Bowl Miss Grey Cup Parade with a new event, the Miss Grey Cup Ambassador Program, dropping such elements of the parade as its crown-wearing parade. Instead, judges will observe entries from the night before at various functions and vote—before choosing the so-called ambassador of a province or territory. The grand official ball of the event is the 1988, and this year's contestants include 25-year-old Toronto Asper's cheerleader Karen Spitzley and 16-year-old Prince George, B.C., cheerleader Amy Leung. The Ottawa Rough Riders, the league's athletic target to lead the teams about the world until the club has already chosen a captain for the parade. Said CFL chairman Roy McManis: "There was a communications problem, and the league office is at fault—the which I take responsibility." OK, Canada.

Spitzley: no more evening-gown parades



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COLUMN



Hypocrisy in Hong Kong

BY BARBARA AMIEL

It takes only a lot to turn me cynical and sets Thatcher all at the same time, but that point was certainly in sight as I walked the Prison and Prisoners of War to the north of Hong Kong last week on an official visit. It began the very moment I descended from the aerial plane. The way the kit commentator put it, there was a political statement in her choice of costume. "The princess has chosen an imperial purple costume," said the reporter breezily. The six feet this might well be a wonderful gesture of support to British policy on Hong Kong, while at the same time, her matching red skirt "is perhaps a gesture to the Chinese." Myself, while I expect Prince Charles is smart enough to know that such an interpretation could be taken, I don't suppose the princess was even vaguely aware of it. At the same time, when I looked at her I saw the colors of blood. The children carried, the flower baskets and ranted "Free Tibet and political considerations prevent the royal pair from visiting the Vietnamese refugees," explained the commentators. And the head played on.

The British government has announced that it will finally repatriate most of the Vietnamese refugees crowded in the squalid camps in Hong Kong. This can hardly be said to look about it and yet, most British sources talk about it not at all. Princess Diana's photograph was splashed all over the newspapers last week when, on an earlier stop of her Far East tour, "in her most conspicuous act of kindness," she visited the World War II hospital in Japan based on an Indonesian leper hospital. Very one indeed, but wasn't the real leprosy in today's world the unwanted refugees—and their heads, the most certainly not touch. All these women, pretty Oriental with outstretched palms and supplicants, trying to win their way into the West. They lack the stoic simplicity of African refugees who construe their contentment in eternal agony, seeking refuge from famine and cold without bickering as for wealth more than the old blanket.

Will we see British soldiers pointing their guns at the refugee families as they herd them into cargo planes back to Vietnam?

The pain of all these refugees is not a constant, God knows. But perhaps the most pitiable of all the human beings who have sheltered this earth are the desperate creatures who manage to cross the South China Sea. Those fleeing Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians have survived assaults that would be a horror movie. Their journeys begin with rape and pillage and end up, if not with murder, with some lucky survivors fleeing who Hong Kong's role of the bodies of their murdered brethren and family. The freedom they seek becomes the crowded camps of Hong Kong. If they are young children, they may find themselves massacred to parts in those camps, a rather unfortunate form of mercy. Who will pluck their cries?

Not the British. Thatcher's government has said that forced repatriation will be as soon as possible, and do try for the opposite. Leaches has been muted, at best. Will we see British soldiers, then, guns pointed at the families stopping them to prevent unauthorized access as they herd them onto cargo planes back to Vietnam? Well, after all, just down the street from Westminster's Houses of Parliament are the great law courts of England. There, this very week in Courtroom 13 at the

High Court of Justice, you can see the trial case of Lord Alton, 75, against Count Nicolas Tolstoy. Count Tolstoy claims on he did in his book *The Minister and the Minister* that Lord Alton (then Brig. Toby Law of the British Fifth Corps) took part in the slaughter and forced repatriation of thousands of men, women and children at the end of the Second World War.

These unfortunate people were either conscripts or Yugoslavs, many of them British allies and the miserable British prisoners of war, who surrendered to the British in order to avoid being sent back to certain death at the hands of Stalin or Tito. I have no doubt about the merits of Lord Alton's defence, but there is an assumption that the forced repatriation by the British army took place, and no disagreement that it resulted in the awful slaughter of innocent people. One British officer who took part in that terrible repatriation had well-titled later in the trial told me that he will never forget the screams and pleas of wives and old men as he led them down the train shed. "I shall see them of my life and never have it off my conscience," he said.

But his conscience is a rare one. The only sleeping rights, one learns, going on at Downing Street are long sleepers. Very serious matters from showing any disturbing scenes of the Hong Kong situation. Meanwhile, the British Refugee Council seems to think Britain should be solving the problem by sending massive programs of economic aid to Vietnam. I suppose this is a noble gesture. But of Vietnam can extract money from the West as it first make life unbearable and brutal for their citizens and then allow the wretched people to escape—then leading on with the moral dilemma of what to do with them.

The West simply hasn't the means to rescue and solve as fast half of the world that live in appalling conditions. Our long-term strategy must be to solve problems in the countries from which people flee. But what we are faced with at the moment is the short-term political problem of British people who have already fled. Britain can extract money from the West as it first make life unbearable and brutal for their citizens and then allow the wretched people to escape—then leading on with the moral dilemma of what to do with them.

As for the British royal, one finds it puzzling that Prince Charles seems so uninterested about his own presence in Hong Kong. He has a very keen sense of his symbolic value and uses his weight and influence to sponsor and lead over great causes, cause levers, near-city turbulence and the slope of buildings. It seems to me the height of bad taste, to say the least, for him to descend on Hong Kong when the colony is about to be handed over to the "communist regime" in Beijing and when Hong Kong's soldiers are being told that only a few will have right of abode in Britain. As for the blunder that he and his wife sent on the Queen, well, that's British hypocrisy all the way, isn't it?

MOSCOW BOUND

MULRONEY HOPES TO INCREASE HIS POPULARITY WITH A SPLASHY VISIT TO THREE CITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION

As Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's tour director, Les Lurie has to be aware of any unusual customs or potential problems that may derail the travel plans of his boss—and the journalists who accompany him. Last week, during a media briefing on Mulroney's five-day trip next week to the Soviet Union, Lurie instructed journalists about some of the requests they should prepare for. He warned reporters to drink the water from Moscow city taps and to bring their own bath towels—not just supplied in Soviet hotels. But Lurie also demonstrated that some problems confronting reporters to the Soviet Union have numerous consequences. While on an advance visit in September, Lurie recalled, a staff member ordered beer in a hotel room; later, he told the Soviet government to allow tourists to buy drinks in their own country and to bring valuable foreign currency into the cash-starved Soviet government. Said Lurie: "The bartender gave him some (West German) Deutsche marks for drink—and a pack of bubble gum."

Canadian may be mandated with similar requests of Soviet. Life as source of Canadian journalists shadow Mulroney and his wife, Mila, during next week's engagements in three Soviet cities. The Prime Minister, who arrives in Moscow on Nov. 20, will also visit Leningrad and Kiev in the first official visit of a Canadian leader to the Soviet Union since Premier Trudeau went in 1971. Mulroney is also one of the few leaders of a major Western country who has not yet paid an official visit to Mikhail Gorbachev, but the two men met informally for 45 minutes in 1986 when Mulroney travelled to Moscow for the funeral of Gorbachev's predecessor, Konstantin Chernenko. During his visit—almost two years after Chernenko's death—Mulroney is expected to sign agreements on trade and Arctic co-operation. Mulroney's has



Mulroney's entourage including 100 journalists

also learned that Mulroney may announce the opening of a second Canadian legation in the Soviet Union—on Kiev.

With the Prime Minister's popularity at home at its lowest level ever, his staff has been eager to court some of the most intensive media coverage ever planned for a Mulroney trip. Earlier this month, Gallup Canada Inc. reported that approval of the Mulroney government has risen to 21 per cent of those polled by the organization—compared with 42 per

cent of Canadians who voted for Conservatives in last November's election. But the domestic events unfolding throughout the Soviet Bloc present Mulroney's handlers with an opportunity to cast the Prime Minister in a leading—and increasingly—role on the world stage. Said Lurie: "We have never seen a man by the Prime Minister that has attracted so much attention from the media—especially foreigners."

Indeed, more than 100 journalists will form the largest segment of a party that also includes a physician and 16 officials from the Prime Minister's Office and the central affairs department. The media entourage is so large that, once the Canadians are in the Soviet Union, they will travel in two places. A third place—a Canadian Armed Forces Hercules—will carry television and communications equipment.

Mulroney has said that he hopes to use his Soviet visit as a vehicle to foster closer economic ties with the Soviet Union. To that end, he will meet in Moscow with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov and is scheduled to spend Nov. 21 in talks with Gorbachev at the Kremlin. Those meetings are expected to result in bilateral trade agreements—an objective that has earned praise from many Canadian businessmen. In fact, 248 Canadian companies

under the sponsorship of the newly formed Canada-BSSR (Business Council), will visit the Soviet Union at the same time as Mulroney—either together or separately. Recent disclosures that a group of Canadian businessmen are working towards founding a major development deal in Leningrad (McDonald's, Nov. 13). The council itself, launched last June by Canadian entrepreneurs and their counterparts in Soviet state enterprises to foster bilateral trade and investment, will hold its

inaugural meeting in Moscow on Nov. 21.

At the same time, Mulroney and Gorbachev are expected to put their signatures to an Arctic co-operation treaty. That treaty, finalised last November, will likely lay the groundwork for more co-operation between the two countries in such areas as science and technology. The two leaders may also agree to terms for signing a treaty concerning both sides to greater efforts in environmental protection. Other subjects may also include the discussion for one thing, Mulroney may raise

state. They will also attend a gala performance of the Bolshoi Ballet in Moscow. In Leningrad, they will visit the Hermitage museum, and Mulroney will address the Academies of Sciences of Leningrad. Although Mila Mulroney's itinerary had not been finalised last week, she was expected to spend time with Gorbachev's economist wife, Raisa, while the two leaders are in meetings.

During the two-day visit to Kiev, Mulroney will lay a wreath at the monument to 19th-century Ukrainian poet and nationalist bard Taras Shevchenko. And the Kiev visit may also result in



Gorbachev's agreements on trade and Arctic territory

the issue of human rights with the Soviet leader, despite the advances made during the current reforms. And Gorbachev may want to discuss his 1983 proposal for Arctic demilitarisation—a subject that Canadian officials have said should be dealt with in a multilateral forum.

During their two nights in Moscow, the Mulroneys will stay in a two-bedroom wing of an official guesthouse within the walls of the Kremlin—normally reserved for heads of

states. They will also attend a gala performance of the Bolshoi Ballet in Moscow. In Leningrad, they will visit the Hermitage museum, and Mulroney will address the Academies of Sciences of Leningrad. Although Mila Mulroney's itinerary had not been finalised last week, she was expected to spend time with Gorbachev's economist wife, Raisa, while the two leaders are in meetings.

During the two-day visit to Kiev, Mulroney will lay a wreath at the monument to 19th-century Ukrainian poet and nationalist bard Taras Shevchenko. And the Kiev visit may also result in the announcement that Canada intends to sign a consular in the Ukraine city of Lviv. Mulroney's advisors acknowledge that the move would be inspired by the government's strained relations with the 700,000 Ukrainian Canadians who descend, many of whom live in Western Canada, where support for the Tories in the three Prairie provinces is lower—at 24 per cent—than anywhere else in the country. In 1988, the Democratic Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals criticized the ethnic group with a proposal to travel to the Soviet Union to bear witness about Soviet World War atrocities. More than 1,000 Ukrainian Canadians marched on Parliament Hill to protest against the planned trip, alleging that Soviet evidence would be fabricated. The inquiry report said, and indeed, some officials in the Prime Minister's Office have said that one of the reasons why Mulroney himself did not travel to the Soviet Union earlier was a concern that such a visit might further alienate Ukrainian Canadians.

Now, Ukrainian-Canadian spokesmen say that they would welcome the plan for a Kiev consulate. For one thing, it would make contact with relatives and the southern Soviet Republics easier. Said Andriy Hribchewsky, a spokesman for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee: "A consulate will assure an important constancy that the Canadian government recognises the major contributions we have made to this country."

It was clearly with such sentiments in mind that Mulroney's advisors were determined last week to ensure that his Soviet visit yields as many better diplomatic relations abroad, but also increased support among voters at home.

LESA VAN DUSEN in Ottawa

National Notes

A PUND-RAISING MISSION

During a four-day visit to Canada, Philippine President Corason Aquino urged businessmen to invest in her country. Aquino, who replaced deposed dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, also held a 90-minute meeting with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Afterward, the Canadian government announced \$100 million in new aid for the Philippines.

COOKUP STEPS AHEAD

Quebec Senator Michel Gagné withdrew from the Conservative parliamentary caucus in response to an announcement that the federal government had launched a criminal investigation of his business dealings. Gagné also withdrew his support for the Tories to conduct an anti-inquiry into allegations that he improperly accepted payments from a Chinese corporation.

HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS UPHOLD

The Federal Court of Canada ruled that the Equality Rights, a constitutional statute at Ontario's Northwest Territories, has the right to a consensual visit with his partner as a teacher on the prison grounds. It was the first time that a Canadian court had ruled that the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.

MIDCENTURY INMATE

The Supreme Court of Nova Scotia granted the province's government an injunction ordering Dr. Henry Morgentaler to stop performing abortions at his service. Billie Clark said charges against him are heard to court in March, 1990. The court ruled that Morgentaler had "intentionally misled" on a program of abortion. Morgentaler, a prominent lawyer, had been performing abortions outside accredited hospitals.

WALISA IN CANADA

Solidarity leader Leola Walisa arrived in Montreal to begin a 10-day North American tour and declared, "The ideals of communism—freedom, equality, justice—will live on because they are basic ideals." But he added, "some practitioners have perverted" and he opposed foreign investment in Poland.

FARM AND POLITICS

The Social Credit party of British Columbia set up a committee to review a clause in its constitution that states that the party is based on Christian principles. Led by Michael Leary, a Jewish delegate to the party's 1988 convention, the party after complaining that it failed to recognize religious diversity.

Courtroom chaos

A Mountie complains of political interference

A 34-year-old veteran of the RCMP, Staff Sgt. Richard Jordan is no stranger to the witness box. But it is unlikely that Jordan has ever given testimony as disruptive as that which he offered last week in Room 31 of the Ottawa courthouse. Jordan had been called as a defence witness for three Ottawa-area men, including Global Television reporter Doug Seall, charged with possession of stolen property. The charges arose after Seall appeared on television last April 26 and reported highlights from a leaked summary of the federal budget that was due to be tabled the following morning. But Jordan stumped the courtroom by testifying that he had been pulled off the investigation after telling his superiors that there were insufficient grounds for laying charges against the three men. He also alleged that senior RCMP and justice department officials seemed intent on pursuing the charges, in order to "please elected officials" and to "reach journalists' lesions."



Jordan's charges about teaching journalists' lessons

Jordan's testimony drew an immediate response on Parliament Hill, where opposition critics said that if true, the allegations raised the spectre of political interference in the justice administration of the federal courts. But there were more surprises to come in the courtroom. After questioning Jordan in the witness stand—and raising the possibility that he could be charged with perjury—senior Ontario crown attorney John Pearson abruptly withdrew from the case, explaining that he might be called later as a witness. Provincial court Judge James Fontana called a brief recess, then adjourned proceedings for next week, on Monday, May 28.

After Ontario crown attorney John Pearson declared to the Pearson convictions that he had held with provincial prosecutors during the investigation, Jordan testified that he understood such solicitor-client consultations were "private"—they could be kept confidential, Jordan based his conclusion on the same grounds that lawyers for the federal justice department had invoked earlier in the week to prevent Jordan from testifying about meetings he held with federal officials. In response, Pearson asked that Jordan be separated from the case. Then, Pearson told Fontana that Jordan was "using the concept of privilege as a cloak." He added that Jordan knew that if he answered Pearson's questions honestly, "he is liable to being charged with perjury." Moments later, a visibly agitated Pearson an-

nounced his withdrawal from the case. Pressed by reporters later to explain his reference to perjury, Pearson refused to comment.

Also unsettled was the confusion raised by Jordan's earlier testimony. Jordan, who holds a law degree and served for three years as a lobbyist to former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, said that during a series of meetings at the RCMP headquarters, he reportedly told RCMP deputy commissioner Henry Jensen and associate deputy justice minister Douglas Robertson that the proposed charges against Seall were at best a "fragile construction." But he said that both men seemed determined to bring Seall to court. Jordan quoted Jensen as saying he hoped that the proposed charges against Seall were a "hoax." And he described Robertson's reasoning as "hazy," with some of their discussions

ending "more towards scheming than legal analysis." Jordan alleged that Jensen and Robertson insisted on laying charges against the two other defendants—crown attorneys John Agely and Norman Bédard, who works for an Ottawa recycling company—only to strengthen the prosecution case against Seall.

In the wake of the stunning testimony, opposition MPs pounced on Jordan's revelations. Liberal justice critic Robert Kaplan and that Jordan's allegations raised disturbing questions about the relationship between the RCMP and politicians. Sen. Kaplan: "If the penetration of the RCMP by the government has reached the point where prosecutors can be selected, then perhaps it has reached the point where prosecutions can be stopped."

And NDP justice critic Svend Robinson added that Jordan's allegations contradicted testimony by RCMP commissioner Norman Ibbotson during an appearance last June before the House of Commons justice committee. Ibbotson said that political considerations "had no influence on the laying of charges." But Ibbotson acknowledged that, in the best of his knowledge, no one had ever before been charged with possession of stolen government documents, although such documents routinely turn up in the hands of journalists and opponents in the case apparently overlooked by Ibbotson: In 1978, former Toronto Sun editor Peter Warrington and then-publisher Douglas Creighton were charged with receiving and publishing information from leaked "top secrets." RCMP documents that accused Soviet Embassy personnel in Canada, whom the RCMP regarded as spies. The charges were later dropped.

The affair clearly left the national police force in the dilemma. For his part, Jordan said that he was under "strict advice" not to say nothing to reporters—not even to reveal his name. Seall, who had described Jordan's testimony as "horrid," expressed concern over how the week's events might affect the officer's career. Seall added that the case "constantly" came to hang over his head, and Ibbotson said he felt like "a blind man." Ibbotson said he had not even yet begun all of last week's testimony. Seall, with a petral motion by defence lawyers to have the charges dismissed. How long Seall will remain in limbo may be decided this week. Fontana was to meet with lawyers from both sides on May 28 to determine whether the case can resume its course rather than late next May.

MARK CLARK is in Ottawa.

Seall: 'Yes or no?'



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STEPPING BACK FROM THE BRINK

AFTER HARSH WORDS, THE FIRST MINISTERS AGREE TO RECONSIDER THE CONSTITUTION

The objective among Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's senior strategists had been to foster what was then called "a loose" deal when Canada's 11 First Ministers met in Ottawa last week, the federal government's attempt to end the emotion-charged debate over the Meech Lake constitutional accord promptly went awry. The tension was obvious even before Mulroney called the meeting to order. On the eve of the conference, delegates flared during a private dinner in the wood-paneled members' lounge of the National Gallery of Canada. For 30 hours, Mulroney and several premiers took turns berating Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells for his aspersions upon the accord over the special status that he says it grants to Quebec. According to witnesses, the debate took on a nasty tone. At one point, one of the premiers glared at Wells and said, "Close yourse to f---ing constitutional lawyer."

A day later, under the glare of television lights, the rift between Wells and his adversaries burst into the open. In an electrifying exchange that had torn the assembly between Wells and Mulroney, Newfoundland's Liberal premier accused the Conservative Prime Minister of offering Quebec a "special legislative status" that would erode the foundations of



Mulroney meeting the premiers at Ottawa's National Conference Centre: Jensen

Confederation. Declared Wells: "I believe that is what the vast majority of the people of this nation are expecting." In response, Mulroney lectured Wells about the peaks of granting Quebec's constitutional demands to be recognized, at the wording of the accord, as a "distinct society." Mocking Wells's position, Mulroney declared, "It is so easy to say 'I would not do that, no distinct society, no this,

no that, because that's a danger to Quebec.'" By the time the conference ended the following day, the angry split had been patched over, at least for the moment, by a carefully worded agreement among the 11 First Ministers to continue their consultations on the Constitution. "To that end, Mulroney instructed Senator Ronald Murray, minister of federal-provincial relations, to tour the provincial capitals to

search for enough consensus to justify another constitutional conference in the new year (page 28). At the same time, he said, Mulroney will "intensely and zealously accelerate" the process of Senate reform—working to reach the possibility of a four-Member meeting on the subject in November 1990.

Promises: But the compromise was more apparent than real. In order to extract a promise from Wells not to act unilaterally to rescind the Meech Lake, which has passed the Newfoundland House of Assembly, the other First Ministers agreed that no constitutional deal would go into effect before the Newfoundland legislature has had another chance to "reconsider" it. For his part, Wells insisted that he was leaving Ottawa with his opposition to Meech Lake unshaken. Said Wells: "There is no change in the position that Newfoundland took at the beginning of this meeting."

Even that modest outcome came as a relief

federal and Ontario delegations. Recalled one provincial official: "I thought, 'Oh my God, if the delegation goes with him, we are done for.'" At that moment, Ontario's David Peterson scribbled a note and passed it to one of his senior aides. The note said whether, if Mulroney did produce a "deal at a deal," among the First Ministers that Peterson reaffirmed his refusal to consider any modification of the 1987 agreement. And he made it plain that Quebec was not prepared to counter changes to the upper chamber of Parliament until the forthcoming Meech Lake (declared Jean-Paul "Until Meech Lake is settled, I do not intend to discuss with my cabinet colleagues the substance of Senate reform."

Sore: As it was, even some of Mulroney's aides privately expressed concern that his public slugging match with Wells may have done the province of an eventual agreement all the more harm. Said an aide to Peterson: "If the object was to make Wells appear intransigent, it failed. If the object was to score a quick knockout, it failed. It just made Wells entrench his position more firmly."

For their part, Mulroney's advisers insisted that the Newfoundland premier had provoked the confrontation deliberately. "Wells was not looking for a scrap because he wanted national attention," one close adviser to the Prime Minister claimed. "I think he did it with malice aforethought. He knew that there was no way any could lose these constitutional talks."

For Mulroney, the clash with Wells marked the latest in a series of setbacks in the accord's 30-month history. Decried up during a rare period of harmony between Ottawa and the province, the accord will not become law unless it receives the approval of Parliament in all 10 provinces by October 1, 1991. But Wells, Mulroney and Filmer were not in power when the deal was signed by their predecessors, and each has refused to endorse the agreement without significant alterations. Mulroney has proposed a separate agreement to ensure the protection of linguistic minorities in the Quebec of English and French. Filmer goes further, asking amendments to the accord itself that would dilute the impact of the "distinct society" clause (page 28).

Ashen: Until last spring, Ottawa appeared to be trying to broker a deal with Mulroney's coalition to make Filmer. If that happened, federal officials reckoned, the Manitoba premier would be forced to give ground so that he could avoid being seen as the architect of Meech Lake's failure. But that strategy went awry last April, when Wells's Liberalists fought and won a province-wide election, replacing the incumbent pro-Meech Conservative government. Wells has since become the accord's most outspoken critic among the provincial premiers — to the extent that even Mulroney has acknowledged telegraphing his Newfoundland counterpart recently to explore how not to adopt such a position.

But any hopes that Wells was ready to retire his opposition were dashed almost as soon as he returned to Ottawa last week. Proclaiming that the accord, as written, "is now not acceptable

for a conference?" Only New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna appeared to leave Ottawa with a clear sense that progress had been made. McKenna told Mulroney that he was grateful the Mulroney at last appeared to have accepted the need to deal with the concerns of those who oppose Meech Lake. McKenna added: "It is not a lot, and the whole process may lead to nothing. But at least we are further ahead than we were two weeks ago."

By the time the conference ended the following day, the angry split had been patched over, at least for the moment, by a carefully worded agreement among the 11 First Ministers to continue their consultations on the Constitution. "To that end, Mulroney instructed Senator Ronald Murray, minister of federal-provincial relations, to tour the provincial capitals to

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to Newfoundland. Wells told reporters who met him at the city's airport that he was ready to carry out his earlier threats or rescind his province's ratification of the accord. That declaration provoked anger from other premiers. Peterson, who has emerged as recent troublemaker in one of Meech Lake's most poisonous defendants, declared, "It would be a very destructive act that would poison relations."

But Wells's critics saved their harshest words for the privacy of the proceedings at the historic Hotel Adlon that day. A federal official told *Northern* that the conversation was "vigorous and profane, the sort of talk you hear in a locker room." In search of clues, Wells pointed out that a recent report by Manitoba's all-party task force on Meech Lake had expressed many of the same objections to the accord that Newfoundland

had put forward. That prompted Peterson to turn on Filmon. "Everyone knows that you would have passed Meech Lake a year ago if you had a majority," he told the Manitoba premier. Filmon retorted that the Meech Lake resolution would have been defeated in the Manitoba legislature if he had not withdrawn the motion last December. Still Filmon: "I am keeping Meech Lake alive."

Upbeat: The atmosphere at the end of the two-day conference was noticeably less antagonistic—but there was little evidence that any of the participants were willing to compromise in the negotiations that lie ahead. Still, many, trying to strike an upbeat note, said that he was "encouraged" that the First Ministers had at least agreed to keep talking. "Progress usually is incremental," he added. "It does not happen at big bangs too often." In fact, federal

officials have long speculated privately that the best chance for salvaging Meech Lake lies in keeping negotiations going right up until the June, 1990, deadline. Their hope is that the accord's opponents will grow weary of the brainstorming before its deadline do.

That strategy is far from certain of success. And last week, observers outside Ottawa offered the gloomy assessment that there is little in the national mood to foster conciliation. But as the Golderman Centre in the national capital finally fell silent late last week, it was clear that almost any strategy held out more promise than a repeat of the charged and treason-filled performance of the previous two days.

BIGGS LLOYD and BRUCE WALLACE with J. KANE FULTON and MARK CLARK in Ottawa

THE POINTS OF CONTENTION

Where the dissenters stood last week on key clauses of the Meech Lake accord

What Meech Lake Says:



Premier Gary Filmon



Premier Frank McKenna



Premier Clyde Wells



THE ACCORD

MANITOBA

NEW BRUNSWICK

NEWFOUNDLAND

QUEBEC: Gives the province the right to "preserve and promote" its character as a "distinct society."

Wanted "distinct society" to be subject to the charter of rights; asked for recognition of multiculturalism and the rights of natives.

Accepted the "distinct society" clause but would give charter equal force in the Constitution to protect women and language minorities.

Would limit the impact of the "distinct society" clause by limiting it from the body of the Constitution into the preamble.

PROGRAMS: Compensates provinces that match national programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction.

Said he supports Meech—but a provincial all-party report called for no limitation on federal spending rights.

Backed limits on federal spending with reluctance.

Accepted spitting out with compensation—but wants protection for federal programs aimed at regional disparity.

SENATE: Allows provinces to provide lists of new Senate nominees and to veto future Senate reforms.

Opposed unanimity requirement for reform.

Accepted changes, but would also allow the Yukon and Northwest Territories to nominate senators.

Favored elected Senate, rejected unanimity requirement and would allow trans-province senators a vote on language rights.

SUPREME COURT: Allows provinces to nominate justices; allows Quebec to nominate three of the nine.

Accepted changes, but would also allow the two northern territories to nominate judges.

Accepted changes, but would also allow the Yukon and Northwest Territories to nominate judges.

Rejected provincial nominations, said prime ministerial appointments should be reduced by a reformed Senate.

IMMIGRATION: Allows provinces to set their own policies within overall targets set by Ottawa.

Accepted Meech Lake.

Supported Meech Lake wording.

Said that Meech Lake should be rewritten to reassert federal power to set policy.



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SPECIAL REPORT

A GRIT STANDS FAST

A PREMIER DEFENDS THE TRUDEAU VISION

When Liberal Clyde Wells was elected Newfoundland's first premier last spring, inspiring a 115-year-old Conservative government, Newfoundlanders expected him to be different from his predecessor, Brian Peckford. For 16 years, Peckford, often described as the "bad boy" of Confederation by his critics, had personified the federal government's reluctance to sever most control over Newfoundland's natural resources. Wells, during that decade, had repeatedly called for cooperation with Ottawa. In his electoral campaign for his party's provincial leadership in 1987, Wells told supporters, "You get a great deal more with honey than with vinegar." While Patrick O'Flaherty, a contributor to the St. John's *Evening Telegram*, after Wells's election victory, "The era of confrontation with Ottawa is over. With Clyde Wells, the spirit of compromise and sweet reason has won the day."

Issue: But there was little compromise and less sweet reason in the air when Wells addressed last week's First Ministers' conference. Indeed, "the dramatic high point of the two-day meeting was a tense, finger-warring exchange between Wells and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney as the two argued over natural resources over whether Wells would agree to Canada's 1982 constitutional deal which Quebec refused to sign—if it had been Ottawa that was rejecting. Declared a defeat Wells, "We were certainly well served, if O'Flaherty had been holding that special stick." And by the end of the two-day conference, Wells had batted only to the extent that he had agreed not to have Newfoundland's legislature formally rescind its July 1986 ratification of the Meech Lake accord immediately. As it was, Wells made it plain that he would resign as premier rather than see the constitutional accord go into force as it stands.

Wells's tenacity clearly took federal officials by guard. But it surprised few Newfoundlanders. Compromise, and those who knew Wells best, has never been a hallmark of his character. "When he knows what he wants, he'll hang in there until hell freezes over," said Edward Poole, a Corner Brook, Nfld. lawyer who has counseled Wells in court. Indeed, Wells, 52, has walked away from a powerful office over a point of principle once before. In 1968, he



Wells: a tense finger-warring exchange with Mulroney

resigned as a minister in the cabinet of former premier Joey Smallwood over Smallwood's decision to invest \$1 million of public money in an oil refinery at Come By Chance.

The son of a railway freight handler, Wells has developed both a strong will and a reputation for integrity. In his tiny home town of Bayton, Junction, in central Newfoundland, Wells attended a grade school that he has described as "four walls and a potbelly stove." Wells achieved a deep-seated ambition when he obtained a law degree in 1962 from Dalhousie University—where Mulroney was one of his first-year classmates. According to Dalhousie professor of law Edwin Horne, who taught the two men, Wells "was a lively student," but one without any evident political bent. "Although Mulroney was a 100-per-cent politician even then."

Impulsive: Still, by 1966, Wells had convinced and was a part in the Newfoundland House of Assembly, where he promptly earned Smallwood's esteem. He remained in the assembly—serving as an independent after his split with Smallwood—until 1971. It was not until then, after returning to his practice of law,

that Wells's attention turned to the issue that would eventually bring him to Ottawa as his former classmate's most vocal legislative adversary. Wells acted as counsel for the federal government of Pierre Trudeau in fighting the province's attempts to gain greater control over its natural resources. And, although Wells is not close to Trudeau, he readily acknowledges that he shares the former prime minister's vision of a strong central government for Canada—as well as his openness to special privileges for any one province. "This does not come from Pierre Trudeau or anyone else," Wells told Marvyn's asking, "I simply hope I remember Mr. Trudeau's thinking, believe me, I take it as a great compliment."

Support: And Wells appeared untroubled last week by his role as the most hard-liner of the disunionist premiers. Indeed, he flung down a gauntlet against Mulroney when he challenged the Prime Minister to call a national referendum on the Meech Lake accord. Mulroney promptly dismissed the suggestion that Wells is plainly aware that his political isolation among the First Ministers is largely outweighed by the wide support for his anti-Meech stand among Canadians outside of Quebec. Poole has observed that more than 50 per cent of English-Canadian opinion supports the agreement, and last week letters of support flooded Wells's St. John's office. Said Wells, "It gives me a great deal of comfort that I am not off on a lark on my own."

In Newfoundland, however, there were signs of concern last week that Wells's role as a potent constitutional deal-breaker could bring Mulroney's wrath down on a province whose bilateral economy depends on federal aid. "My gut feeling is that there must be something there for Mr. Wells to be concerned about," said St. John's reporter Albert Williams. "But I worry about federal grants and transfer payments." And indeed, with the Mulroney government dedicated to spending cuts to reduce the federal budget deficit, Newfoundland's crusader against the Meech Lake accord could, before long, discover that taking on Ottawa may carry a painful price close to home.

GLEN ALLEN in Halifax with JUSSELL HANDESSKY in St. John's



Toronto's economic boom predicts billions in lost revenues

DUELING OVER THE TAX BITE

HOW MUCH WILL THE NEW GST HURT?

Even when he is the target of fierce partisan attacks, Michael Wilson rarely manages to remain completely unaffected. But last Wednesday, as the eve of last week's First Ministers' conference, the normally placid finance minister was visibly annoyed. Wilson was working late in his office a few blocks from Parliament Hill when he learned that unrelenting provincial officials had leaked copies of a 28-page study sharply critical of Ottawa's proposed nine-per-cent Goods

and Services Tax. According to the report, the tax would cost provincial governments up to almost \$7 billion in tax revenues and lead to the loss of 434,000 jobs in the first three years after it goes into effect (see Jan. 1, 1991). Wilson promptly called a 10:30 a.m. news conference to refute these findings. Declared the minister: "This is a ridiculous distortion of reality."

Wilson: Job guess



Michael Wilson, Minister of Finance

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ty told his fellow first ministers: "The tax will turn us with fewer jobs and reduced economic growth." The lie is particularly sweetened in Alberta because it is the only province that still has no retail sales tax—although manufactured goods sold there, as elsewhere in Canada, are subject to the hidden 13.5-per-cent federal tax that the GST is meant to replace. Saskatchewan was Premier Grant Devine, meanwhile, said that he favors today's consumption, as the dirt would do, but that Ottawa's proposals were too complicated for most Canadians to understand.

Still, there were indications last week that the GST debate was less heated behind the scenes. In fact, a senior member of the federal delegation told Mulroney that the subject "did not even come up" during a private all-night meeting between federal and provincial officials dedicated to economic issues. One reason for that, he speculated, may be that the provinces plan—under cover of the GST—to expand their own sales taxes to include transactions that are currently untaxed. "The provinces have to attack us as public because the tax is unpopular," the adviser said. "But it does not take a rocket scientist to figure out that if the provinces can get Wilson to take the rap for reducing their tax base, this would be money from heaven for them." At the same time, the official said that Ottawa has not ruled out lowering the GST—perhaps to seven per cent, the rate likely to be recommended by a parliamentary committee studying the proposal.

And for publicly, Wilson was determined to counter the provinces' allegations. The morning after meeting with reporters to denounce the provincial study, he released his own predictions of the tax's effects on economic growth, business and personal revenues in each of the 10 provinces. It was the first time Ottawa had ever published detailed figures publicly. And according to Wilson's study, the new tax would actually create 80,000 new jobs by 1994.

In the end, the stark differences between the predictions of the federal and provincial studies may say as much to the public as those on the GST. Only two months ago, the Government Board of Canada, an independent think-tank partly funded by the federal government, said that it had made a mistake when it announced that 222,000 existing jobs would be lost under the new tax by 1994. Those jobs, the board said, do not exist now. They would have been created between 1981 and 1994, but will not be if the GST is introduced as proposed.

By contrast, there is little disagreement about the potential political impact of the GST. An unrelenting session last week, Devine reminded Mulroney of the extent of public opposition to the GST, adding: "The truth is that the tax is unpopular." Before Devine could continue, he was interrupted by Mulroney: "Grant," said the Prime Minister, smiling broadly, "the truth is that it is very unpopular."

Mulroney's remark may reveal a final state of humor into the otherwise serious discussions. But no one challenged its accuracy.

ROSS LARSEN on Ottawa



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THE MAN BEHIND MEECH

LOWELL MURRAY MUST REKINDLE THE ACCORD

His domestic diplomat, more comfortable behind the scenes than in front of the cameras, Murray is likely to talk about his colleagues than to dwell on himself. For that reason, few Canadians took note as Senator Lowell Murray sat across the country as he did in 1988. It was not common knowledge that Murray's task was to build the consensus that led to the accord, on June 3, 1987, when the signed accord of 18 provincial premiers finally achieved a constitutional

put a "the smartest Tory in Ottawa" A cunning backroom operator, Murray is a critical public gadfly. He includes the distance that a Senate seat—bestowed on him in 1979 by then-Prime Minister Joe Clark—allows him to keep from the television cameras and daily Question Period of the House of Commons. Says Barry Neale, a Tory consultant: "Lowell is not a high-profile kind of guy by nature."

By the age of 23, Murray had already run five public office, losing a bid for a seat in the Nova

scotian that his relationship with Brian Mulroney. Murray was a classmate of Mulroney's at Saint Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., and an adviser at the Mulroney's wedding. But Mulroney, embittered by Murray's refusal to back him when he ran in the 1976 leadership race, scorned his colleague for several years. According to one published report, Mulroney told a friend in 1982 that, if he became prime minister, he would abolish the Senate "just to get even with that son of a bitch Murray." The senior politician dismisses the remark as exaggerated but admits that Mulroney was "disappointed" by his lack of support. All that changed when Mulroney's victory as Tory leader in 1982 when Murray was recruited as a speech writer and master-circle strategist. In the 1988 election, according to one insider, the top Tory campaign team only wanted more than 40 minutes outside a meeting room door while Mulroney reviewed strategy privately with Murray. Now, Murray sits on crucial committees and—along with External Affairs Minister Clark, Deputy Prime Minister Donald Marshall and Finance Minister Michael Wilson—is regarded as a member of the "inner circle" that shares the Prime Minister's closest trust.

Friendship Along with the anonymity of the back room, Murray's other trademarks have been his love of drink and his operative penchant for disappearing precisely when his presence was most sought. When Steele's wanted to offer Murray a job, he had to track him down in Asia. On election day in 1986, Murray cancelled—going fishing. Later, he served with his second-best attended by his constituents and his June, 1986, appointment as government Senate leader and minister of state for federal-provincial relations, Murray conducts himself with occasional visits to a rented billing room at Cape Breton.

This week, as he prepares to sit out on a new round of shuttle diplomacy between provincial capitals, Murray is well aware that the stakes riding on his labors have risen. And he is troubled by the possibility of client scrutiny during his forays outside Ottawa. "This time," he said, "I don't expect hole-in-the-wall around the country anymore." That is, that is likely to complicate even further his task of crafting a new constitutional consensus.

CRON ROAST OF PORK After most in roasting pan, ham puncturing. Cover ham with foil and cook for 1 1/2 hours. Remove from oven. Remove foil and, draw off some fat and fill cavity with your favourite stuffing. Roast medium rare (about 140°F) for 1 1/2 hours. Let rest for 10 minutes before carving.

By KATE FULTON in Ottawa



Murray: the "smartest Tory in Ottawa" retains privacy

Scottish politician in 1960. By 40, the son of a Cape Breton mine inspector was a big spender who paraded the fortunes of a young Alberta journalist named Joe Clark from Quebec to the parlour of the Prime Minister's Office. In between, Murray had worked for previously every big-name Tory in the country. He was an aide to John Diefenbaker, first as assistant and later chief of staff to Diefenbaker's justice minister, E. David Fulton, an executive vice president, at age 30, to Robert Stanfield, a deputy minister to New Brunswick's Richard Hatfield, and an unofficial adviser to Jean MacDonell. It was Murray who introduced Toronto politician Allan Gregg and a revolutionary style of computer-aided political organization to the party's Ottawa head office.

No part of the Murray history is more put a "the smartest Tory in Ottawa" A cunning backroom operator, Murray is a critical public gadfly. He includes the distance that a Senate seat—bestowed on him in 1979 by then-Prime Minister Joe Clark—allows him to keep from the television cameras and daily Question Period of the House of Commons. Says Barry Neale, a Tory consultant: "Lowell is not a high-profile kind of guy by nature."

By the age of 23, Murray had already run five public office, losing a bid for a seat in the Nova

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CRON ROAST OF PORK

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SMALL ROASTS - 3-4 LBS (1.4-1.8 KG)
Full cavity with your favourite stuffing. Roast uncovered at 325° F (160° C) for 2-3 hours, until meat thermometer reaches 140°-150° F (60°-75° C).

MEDIUM ROASTS - 5-6 LBS (2.3-2.7 KG)
Full cavity with your favourite stuffing. Roast uncovered at 325° F (160° C) for 2 1/2 hours. Remove from oven. Remove foil and, draw off some fat and fill cavity with your favourite stuffing. Roast medium rare (about 140°F) for 1 1/2 hours. Let rest for 10 minutes before carving.

LARGE ROASTS - 7-8 LBS (3.2-3.6 KG)
Full cavity with your favourite stuffing. Roast uncovered at 325° F (160° C) for 3 1/2 hours. Remove from oven. Remove foil and, draw off some fat and fill cavity with your favourite stuffing. Roast medium rare (about 140°F) for 2 1/2 hours. Let rest for 10 minutes before carving.

THE FORCES OF DIVISION

EXPERTS ASSESS THE UNRAVELLING

The spirit of Canadian nationalism has followed a roller-coaster course in the 22 years since the country celebrated its centennial in 1967. In that anniversary year, there was unbridled confidence in its identity as 1970's October Crisis and again, in 1980, with the Quebec Referendum. On the eve of 1991 the mood is anything but confident. Maclean's surveyed many of the leading experts on Canadian nationalism, several of whom played con-

ductor, refused to pay for meals in the province's cricketed section of the Trans-Canada Highway and inspired the first trade deal that Dennis blames for several local business closures. What all this proves, he says, is that Ottawa has grown up in the Maritimes. His conclusion: "Maybe we should be looking at forming our own country—or joining the United States." Polchinsky says "bipartisanship" is spreading rapidly in Eastern Canada. And

of nationalism that swept over most of the country in the years following Canada's constitutional crisis in 1987 has resulted in a low ebb. Responds Michael Bliss, a University of Toronto historian: "Canada has always had centrifugal forces, and these seem to be growing."

Riven if Confederation survives its latest constitutional crisis, many analysts predict that those forces will make Canada a markedly different country within 50 years. Among the influences at work: Ottawa's attempts to manage its \$28.9-billion budget deficit; strained relations between provinces, particularly over the Meech Lake accord and interprovincial trade; lacklustre national and provincial leadership; and shifting patterns of immigration that are bringing profound change to some provinces while passing others by. In fact, predicted New Brunswick's Polchinsky, Canada may soon resemble "a number of principalities rather than a nation."

Friede Several observers suggested that the federal government's actions on some of the vital economic issues discussed at last week's First Ministers' conference could be as important to national unity as the constitutional discussions. Richard Sisson, director of the School of Public Administration at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., for one, noted that many Canadians have come to regard the national social welfare system, including Old Age Security and Medicare, as a source of pride and a reason for loyalty to the federal government. Pointing to last April's announced cutbacks in unemployment insurance benefits, he said: "We are putting the union on programs which themselves are in trouble." And while provincial premiers last week attacked Ottawa for its proposed new Goods and Services Tax and the Revue of Canada's high-cost-rate policies, the discussion ended with no sign that the government was prepared to relax its role for debt-reducing.

Indeed, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney listed to the press that his next target for budget cuts may be the transfer payments that several poorer provinces rely on to pay for basic public services. "It is a very-pain country now," and Polchinsky. "Those who can pay, use. Those who cannot, tough." Observed Thomas Corbett, director of Queen's School of Policy Studies: "What is at stake is that the provinces have to start making taxes on their own. In the long run, that is really deconstructing." And for Confederation. But these views in a quiet question: "How do you keep the federal system going in an era of retrenchment?"

Another development putting pressure on the nation's strained unity, according to its



McWhannay: "There is a certain commonness of spirit and narrowness of vision in the provinces"

tral role in the constitutional debates of the past two decades. They offered a sobering assessment of Canada's prospects:

In New Brunswick, political scientist Sidney Polchinsky said that Canada's politicians had begun to take people like Robert Denon of Montreal very seriously. The 41-year-old Va Rail baggage handler says that, for the first time in his life, he has begun to see the benefits of an Atlantic Canadian separatist movement. For years, Denon's concerns have focused on drinking government support for passenger trains, but that has changed since Ottawa cut back Montreal's military supply

that concerns food echoes among practised observers of Canada's national life in every region. For a few, there is fear that Canada may even be on the brink of disintegration.

Division Indeed, according to a Maritimes sampling of public opinion, historians, constitutional experts and veterans of the federal-provincial wars of the past two decades, seldom have the forces of national division been so vigorous—or the forces of national unity so weak. For the first time, declared Allan Mills, a political scientist at the University of Winnipeg, "unbearable things like the breakup of Canada are plausible." And even those whose vision is less apocalyptic concede that the tale

BACARDI STANDS OUT IN THE DARK.

SAVOUR THE EXCEPTIONALLY SMOOTH TASTE OF THE CARIBBEAN. BACARDI DARK RUM.

FUTURE TRADE AND IMMIGRATION PATTERNS WILL FRAGMENT CANADA

crisis, is the 11-member Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Jacques Parizeau, the separatist leader of Quebec's Parti Québécois, is among cautious economic and political observers who have noted that the FTA, by lowering barriers to continental trade, has encouraged provinces to seek closer economic ties with each other, with the rest of Canada. As a result, says Senécal of Quebec's, "less and less it is possible to talk about the Canadian economy as a single entity." He added, "Less and less does one province have a stake in the economic success of other ones."

Still, other influences tending to create national unity are less tangible than trade. Edward McWhinney, professor of constitutional law at British Columbia's Simon Fraser University, for one, says that there is "a certain awareness of spirit in the provinces, a certain tolerance and a commonness of vision." As well, he said that recent trends in immigration are altering the nation's political dynamics. After a decade of accelerating Asian immigration, noted McWhinney, "demographically, British Columbia is quite distinct even from Alberta within the same region." Significant demographic differences across the rest of the country, he added, "create different attitudes to a wide range of issues. British Columbia, for one, has been preoccupied by its growing demographic ties with Asia to seek stronger links to the Pacific Rim countries, at odds with the rest of the country's traditional overseas focus on Europe."

Antagonism: In 1984, Pierre Manier, Minister, campaigned successfully on the theme of national reconciliation, a theme that he repeated last week. "Unity is the bedrock of our growth," he told the provinces, "and the cornerstone of our future." Despite that declaration, some critics accused Manier of lacking an inspiring national vision. Declared Blais: "There was always someone to speak for Canada: André Bessis [Minister of Immigration], Gombeine [said that the federal Tories have created divisions] by making unaccompanied refugees in the deficit. And Courchesne: 'They have saved pilling lots of money to close military bases.' After the brief flowering of national reconciliation in the early months of the Terry government, he added, "they have recreated the traditional tensions among the provinces with very little to show for it."

Others are equally critical of provincial leaders for failing to reflect a national vision. Senécal

Préval's McWhinney, for one, accused provincial governments of "irresponsibility" in their pursuit of narrow regional self-interest. He noted, for example, that provincial governments have failed to dismantle their protective systems of interprovincial trade barriers that have contributed to a fragmented national economy. Said McWhinney, who has advised former premiers in Ontario and Quebec on constitutional law: "There is an appalling absence of leadership at the provincial level."

Many analysts observe that the current situation is in stark contrast to attitudes in the 1960s. Then, Canadian nationalists gathered



Blais: The centrifugal forces seem to be growing.

strength with the creation of a Canadian flag in 1965 and Expo 67 at Montreal celebrating the country's first century. In 1966, Pierre Trudeau swept to power with a charismatic style that seemed to epitomize a national spirit of confident independence. But ultimately, Trudeau's vocal advocacy of a strong central government created conflict with the provinces. In the 1970s, Trudeau battled with Alberta over energy policy and Quebec over independence. Trudeau's charismatic style attracted these conflicts, suggested Blais, and "weakened the confidence in the long run." Trudeau, said Blais, "did not respect the actions of Canada as a group of constitutions," while Mulroney, in turn, is "too willing to pander to the provinces." Blais argues that a prime minister of Canada should occupy a middle ground be-

tween these two approaches: "There is a difference between respecting the regions and surrendering to them."

But whatever compromises may eventually be reached on Meech Lake, some analysts say that other forces will inevitably bring big changes to Canada in the coming decades. Consider, for one, just that because of Quebec's declining share of the total Canadian population, by the year 2026, it "is not going to be the major driving force in Canada," he said. He added, "Japanese will be British Columbia's second official language. The rest of the country, he concluded, will be "a series of distinct blocs" made up of different regional, ethnic and language groups. Added Senécal: "In 25 years, it will certainly be a lesser federation."

Several analysts expressed deep concern that the erosion of national unity could ultimately lead to the breakup of the country—regardless of the outcome of the Meech Lake dispute. In Winnipeg, Mills reflected that "the breakup of the Soviet empire is taking place so rapidly, we have to realize that the breakup of Canada could happen just as fast unless we take care." For his part, former Manitoba vice premier Howard Whyte noted "an unfortunate trend towards apart and hostility, which is leading towards the potential breakup of the country." Blais predicted: "Canada is not going to have fallen apart by 1996. Whether it will be here in the year 2005 is another question."

Myra: Still, other observers called proponents of Canada's dinner element, Senécal (London Robertson, a supporter of Meech Lake who, as clerk of the Privy Council from 1963 to 1975, was Canada's top civil servant. "When Canadians get close to the edge of the abyss and look over, they will have enough common sense to decide they do not want a fracture in this country," added Robertson. "Compromise has been the Canadian genius for 200 years." And in Vancouver, Michael Walker, executive director of the right-wing Fraser Institute, once argued that a lesser federation might be good for Canada. "The more autonomous the provinces are," Walker said, "the less likely it is that any group of them will agree to a proposition that would see Canada fragment and link with the United States."

Until the June deadline for ratification of the controversial Meech Lake accord, the Constitution is likely to remain the focus of much of the debate over Canada's future. But whatever shape that document takes in the end, other changes—in the size of the national economy, the makeup of Canada's population and relations between Ottawa and the provinces—are likely to proceed swiftly. Believed Blais: "I am worried about the country either way, if the accord is ratified or if it isn't." Similarly, ordinary Canadians like Robert Davis have reason to wonder whether their country that emerges from these discussions will meet reasonable the one that they are trying to save.

GREG W. TAYLOR with HAL GIBSON in Vancouver, DON MAGSILLIEM in Winnipeg, E. KATE FULTON in Ottawa, ZOEGRINE PRINCE in Montreal and GLEN ALLAN in Halifax

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MIXED REVIEWS FOR THE ACCORD

CANADIANS DISAGREE ON MEECH LAKE

As political leaders struggle to find a way out of the constitutional impasse over the Meech Lake accord, Canadians from coast to coast are assessing the nation's chances of survival. To gauge the national mood, Maclean's Senior Writers Barry Goss and Peter Finkelstein asked prominent Canadians across the country for their thoughts about their country's prospects.

Ray Guy, 58, essayist and broadcaster, was born in Come By Chance and moved to Armidale, Ont. He writes a weekly column for the St. John's Sunday Express, as well as a monthly column for Atlantic Insight magazine.

"I suppose the fact that it has only been 40 years since Newfoundland joined Canada gives us a different view of the possible breakup of the country. We're just a fragment sitting out on the margins. We never really did feel that much a part of Canada. My wife has been trying to explain it to me for the last 15 years, but she was born in British Columbia. Well, we are all ready for a good last-up-down here. It has been pretty dull for the past 40 years.

"I have to admit we've been surprised at all

the publicity Clyde Wells has been getting. After all, Clyde has not yet done anything as far as the province is concerned. Now he has become a national figure before he became a provincial one of anything.

"Still, I guess it would be a pity. We're just getting used to the powers in all these cheques from Ottawa."

Alex Colville, 68, one of Canada's most renowned painters, was born in Toronto but raised and educated in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Colville is now chancellor of Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S.

"I have been a lifelong advocate of free trade so, in that sense, I have to say the outlook is good. But I have also been a lifelong friend of Quebec, and I would find it appalling to see that province leave Confederation. Quebec's attitude is perfectly reasonable. The worry is that those who are opposing Meech Lake, like those who opposed free trade, claim to be nationalists where the largest numbers of their efforts, if they succeed, would be to bring an end to the Canadian nation.

"If this country disappears, it is not going to be Quebec that will be the last hour. The French as a community will remain. The same probably applies to the Maritimes. They will likely duck back into the sphere of the New England states where they were before Confederation. Montreal was a flourishing port then, while Toronto was still a muddy village. Keep in mind that Confederation was a disaster for the Maritimes. It severed the region's natural links with New England, forced it to buy products at inflated prices from Ontario and Quebec. But it did not destroy the existence of a coherent culture that never had much to do with natural boundaries."

Antoinette Mallet, 60, Acadia novelist and playwright, is Canada's only winner of the Prix Governor, France's prestigious literary award. Mallet was born and raised in New Brunswick, N.B., and now lives in Montreal.

"This country needs Meech Lake, or something like it, if we are going to hold together. We are at a turning point right now. A few years ago, I thought Canada's future was very bright. I am no longer so sure about that.

"Many people do not seem to realize that having two languages is an asset, not a problem. It is also true that the French are a

minority in North America. I understand minorities. I am (you see myself) a minority here to fight for survival in ways that sometimes do not seem fair. The rest of Canada must understand this about the francophones and help them. Meech Lake is the beginning of a chance.

"Canada without Quebec would be a disaster. It would split the country in two. What would happen to the Maritimes? They would turn to the United States. The same thing would happen in the West. What would Ontario do all alone? It would be much easier for Quebec to survive alone in North America than Ontario, Meech Lake, or something similar to it, must be done."



Mallet: "We are at a turning point"

Pierre Finkelstein, 64, Quebec publishing magnate, is president of Montreal-based Quebec Inc. His company, with holdings that include the Quebec Journal, Le Journal de Montreal and Le Journal de Quebec, recently paid \$500 million to buy U.S. printing plants.

"These weeks where this country is hanging and I don't think anybody does. But I know that in Quebec a lot of people are not aware of the way Montreal and Newfoundland want to do away with the Meech Lake accord after the previous promises of those provinces had already accepted it once. This is bad for the unity of the country.

"People in Quebec are not happy. When I have people who work for me tell me they are not happy, I tell them to go back home. It is like a marriage. If you are not happy with the woman you are living with, then you go out and get another one, and let her go out and find another man so that both of you can be happy. Maybe the same thing applies here."

Monique Kichler, 56, novelist, is a native of Montreal. Solenne Gosselin Was Born, the last of seven in her 35-year career, was published earlier this month.

"Did Robert Bourassa not invoke the notwithstanding clause and then followed that with the introduction of Bill 178 [prohibiting



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**The Move
Is On**



Guy: a fragment out on the margins

outdoor commercial signs in English). Miroch Lake would have passed easily. Now, whichever way the cards fall there will be an ugly backlash fracturing the country even further. I think there is a real possibility that the centre won't hold."

Desmond Morton, 52, history teacher at the University of Toronto, where he is also principal of Erasmus College. Morton, who was



Colville: 'The French will resist'

I am very worried. I think that Quebec is entitled to the Meech Lake accord. Without it, the prospects for Confederation are extremely gloomy. Quebec received nothing out of the patriation of the Constitution in 1981 and 1982. The Meech Lake accord will help to remedy this situation. It is not perfect, by any means, but it is better than nothing. Remember that Meech Lake is not the end of constitutional reform. Without it, however, it might be."

Israel (Izzy) Asper, 57, lawyer and business man, was born and raised in Manitoba. He is now chairman and chief executive officer of the ConWest Capital Group, a communications and financial services company based in Winnipeg.

"I fully support the Meadows report [recommending changes to Meech Lake but, in my opinion—it does not go far enough. It does not address the two issues that are central to Western Canada's demands—the creation of a Triple E Senate and the removal of the constitutional changes from Quebec."

"If those two nations are not on the table, Western Canada is going to be angry. We are tired of being snubbed. We are not impressed or impressed by the blockade of certain political leaders who say, 'Do it our way or you will be the cause of the breaking of Canada.' We are happy to accommodate Quebec, but there are more than 30 million people in Western Canada—along

with all the other lightly populated provinces—needs in order to unload the rice, to unstack the deck. Without an equal, elected and effective Senate, we will not have a voice. Without recognition, we will continue to be consigned to the political wilderness.”

Marjorie Bowker, 72, retired judge in the provincial court of Alberta, lives in Edmonton. She rose to national attention last year after she published a critical treatise on the Free Trade Agreement.

"Now we are in a dilemma because no matter if the North Lake accord is approved or rejected, the country is greatly weakened. I understand that the Western society class will encourage Quebec to choose independence. If we reject it, it looks as if we are denying Quebec its just rights—and it could be the same result."

"The great joy is that this accident has come brought out in the way it was and ignored by it. I hope people meeting liberally in secret. It was a weakening of the national government and we need a strong central government in order to lead a country like Canada together. Now the accident's critics are being looked upon as the destroyers. I am grateful that there are people like Gary Filmon and Clyde Wells who are strong enough to state their positions. It is a blessing for Canada that there were changes in the governments of those provinces."

McL Murray: *57, president of Murray Publishers Ltd. and publisher of The Canadian Encyclopedia, is an Edmonton native. Murray was founding chairman of the Council of Canada and a nationalistic lobby group.*

I have never been so concerned about the



Schiller: 'The centre may not hold'

Lament of Canadians is in vogue. The lack of unity, the uncertainty, the absence of strong leaders speaking up for a united country is very, very worrisome. The combination of the Free Trade Agreement, which puts government at all levels at a disadvantage of powers, plus the downturn



Rowden: 'The country is weakened'

long impact of further constitutional change to meet Quebec's demands, will produce a country as united as it is.

When Prime Minister Mulroney failed to repudiate Quebec's Bill 178, all kinds of Canadians across the country used the bell with that. That action by Premier Bourassa was a nation-breaking action. Decades of work were lost. Mulroney should have stood up and said if this is going to be a bilingual country it has to be bilingual everywhere, not just outside of Quebec.

Thomas Berger, 56, former Supreme Court of British Columbia justice and a native of Vancouver, now practices law in Salt City. He headed the 1974 to 1977 royal commission into the treatment of Metis and First Nations in the Northwest Territories.

The Canadian adventure requires a lot of patience. The object of the exercise is not to produce a flag-waving populace that believes in aimless patriotism. The history of the Canadian experiment has been the working out of arrangements between the two main language groups, between the majorities and the minorities. These arrangements shift from province to province. It is a mistake to think that a formula exists somewhere out there that will resolve these dilemmas forever. It won't.

"Brian Mulroney and Robert Bourassa came upon the middle of the night with a formula that they must use all must buy. I don't think we can work that way. There is no ultimate formula. We move from one crisis to another, from one adjustment to another. It has been a message that, in its own way, has worked. I am not prepared to see both sides contemplate the possibility of living without one another. That is an unrealistic future."

"I think we will return to the Canadian virtues of politeness and tolerance. That is why this country is all about. I just cannot believe that Bourassa represents the soul of Quebec just as I cannot believe that Mulroney represents the idea of Canada. The vote is a lot more to Quebec and to Canada than Bourassa and Mulroney." 10



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David and Joyce Dinkins (above); Dinkins and Rudolph Giuliani (right), a promise to solve the city's ethnic and racial wounds

WORLD

A BREAKTHROUGH

In the ornate Blue Room of New York's city hall, the white faces of the city's past mayors gaze out from gilt frames that line the wall. On Wednesday, Nov. 8, flanked by current Mayor Edward Koch, David Dinkins—quiet, black and proud—stood at a podium under those portraits as the crowning after he had made history. The 60-year-old Democrat's narrow election victory over Republican Rudolph Giuliani, dinkins a little above center that captured waddled attention, will make him the 108th mayor of America's largest city and the first black ever to hold the job. Dinkins, the Manhattan borough president, will be sworn in as mayor on Jan. 1 and as he tallies assembled reporters about his plans for the transition, even his trademark awkward manner could not conceal his delight in his own accomplishment. "As an African-American," he said "I will have the leadership of the most important and greatest urban center in the world."

Dinkins's triumph was the most celebrated

DINKINS NARROWLY DEFEATS GIULIANI TO BECOME THE FIRST BLACK MAYOR OF AMERICA'S LARGEST CITY

of a series of breakthroughs by black U.S. politicians last week. In Virginia, Democratic Douglas Wilder narrowly defeated Republican Marshall Coleman—subject to a recount—to become America's first elected black governor (page 42). In Seattle, Democratic city Councilman Norm Macdonald edged Republican Douglas Jeffer to become the city's first black mayor,

and in Detroit, four-term incumbent Coleman Young was an unopposed 68th term. The victories were not strident black activists but moderate, pragmatic politicians. And although racial prejudice was steadily apparent among voters in several of the contests, black political leaders were clearly resented. "We're getting closer to the day when race no longer will be a political issue," said Ronald Brown, the black Democratic National Committee chairman. "And when that day comes, we'll be a much better nation."

In New York, Dinkins captured 50 per cent of the 1.8 million votes cast, compared with Giuliani's 45 per cent, making it the city's tightest majority race since 1905. (Other candidates won the remainder of the ballots.) Dinkins triumphed by sweeping 80 per cent of the black vote and, in a city where blacks comprise 25 per cent of the electorate, by picking up a crucial 38 per cent of the white vote.

But Dinkins's margin of victory was far

smaller than expected after his heady defeat of the incumbent, three-term Mayor Koch in the Democratic primary last September. Dinkins's incumbent Republican by 5 to 1 in New York and at the start of the campaign, Dinkins enjoyed a seemingly insurmountable 18-point lead in the polls. But in the closing days, Giuliani, a 45-year-old former federal prosecutor, provided a surprising victory to Dinkins's personal financial troubles, including his failure to pay personal income taxes from 1984 to 1987, and scored several upsets. Some analysts suggested that Giuliani's formidable margin was a reflection of latent racial bias among the electorate. "Whites tell pollsters that they're voting for the black candidate," said University of Virginia political scientist Lawrence Siskin. "Then they go into the voting booth and don't quite do what they have."

Dinkins's campaign was decidedly modest. The son of a busboy and a nurse and a Marxist, he spent most of his childhood in Harlem. After graduating from Brooklyn Law School and practicing law for 18 years, he

Republicans hired Roger Ailes, the bearded media consultant who, one year ago, had helped campaign then-Vice-President George Bush's image while serving his Democratic opponent, Michael Dukakis, in a city that has not elected a Republican mayor since John Lindsay in 1964. Ailes employed his harsh tactics to batter the favored Dinkins, who inadvertently provided plenty of ammunition. Giuliani revealed that the Dinkins campaign had paid \$11,000 to see Robert (Goetz) Curran to help get out the vote in the primaries. Curran is a known lobbyist; he is also a strident black activist who, when accused of anti-Semitism, replied that he was not "anti-white." The Republicans also made the most of the fact that the ambitious Dinkins had sold stock to his son David Jr. for \$47,000 after having valued it at \$1.5 million.

In addition, Giuliani's television commercials reminded all-important Jewish voters of Dinkins's close friendship with personal presidential candidate Rev. Jesse Jackson, whose many suspect of being anti-Israel and who once re-



turned politics and worked his way up in the New York Democratic hierarchy. He served as city clerk for 18 years and, after twice losing elections for Manhattan borough president, was finally elected in 1985.

Last November, four black Brooklyn politicians marched into his office and, over coffee, persuaded Dinkins to challenge Koch for mayor. The city showed seven racial districts after more than a decade of Koch's absolute, sharp-tongued leadership. And Dinkins, using his modest, low-key style to portray himself as a leader, scored a resounding primary victory. That brought his head-to-head with Giuliani, who had achieved prominence by successfully prosecuting convicted politicians. Mafia leaders and Wall Street showed trader Fred Busch in his first foray into electoral politics, Giuliani overhauled Ronald Lauder, son of the cartoonist Jack Lauder, in the Republican primary in September.

The table-top race turned into one of the dirtiest fights the Big Apple has ever seen. The

fierced to New York as "Hoyas" towns. Some observers maintained that such attacks amounted to fairly disguised racism, which gave white voters an excuse to switch their allegiance to Giuliani. Said Roderic Morris Shandman, executive director of the Council of Jewish Organizations in Brooklyn: "I think there were a lot of people supporting Dinkins because they didn't want to be accused of being anti-black. With some of the things that Giuliani said, it gives them a chance to shirk."

But Giuliani's open play for the Jewish vote backfired when he campaigned with the comedian Jackie Mason, who made mostly charged remarks to a crowd of blacks and Jews. He even called Dinkins "a Jewish affirmative action mistake." (Schwartz is a Yiddish word for black and is often used derogatorily.) And Dinkins, even as he promised to value the city's Jewish leaders' back at Giuliani in his own advertising campaign. Dinkins's commercials portrayed Giuliani as a ruthless crime-buster and as a political opportunist who had lip-flopped from Jewish

World Notes

DINKINS FIGHTS FORT

Chosen leader Jiang Xiaoping, 55, was named chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission, his first official post. He was nominally succeeded by the men he had personally selected, 60-year-old Communist party general secretary Jiang Zemin. Western diplomats said that Deng, who opened the country to the West but who also presided over the June crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square, will likely remain the country's paramount, if unofficial, leader.

DIABLOCK IN GERMANY

Filing short of a majority in the second parliamentary election a few months, the conservative New Democracy party, which won 144 seats in the 300-seat Bundestag, tried and failed to form a coalition government. At week's end, the Socialist party of former prime minister Helmut Kohl, which won 128 seats, began formal talks with the Christian Democrats. But many political commentators predicted that both parties and the Christian Democrats would also fail to find a majority, leading to yet another parliamentary election this year.

NICARAGUAN STRIFE

U.S.-backed contra rebels embroiled in army trucks and abandoned four prisoners in Nicaragua. Meanwhile, at the UN in New York City, negotiators for the rebels and the Sandinista government attempted to negotiate a ceasefire that ended two weeks ago.

CHEMORNOY PALLOUT

The weekly Moscow News reported that more than 250 people who worked at the Chernobyl power station helped in the cleanup after the world's worst nuclear accident in 1986 had died of leukemia and cancer, it gives them a chance to shirk.

SENTENCING A TRAFFICKER

A U.S. district court judge in Detroit sentenced a Colombian racketeer to 15 years in prison and fined him \$20,000 for conspiring to distribute 680 lbs of cocaine. He also had the United States following his 2003 conviction, was arrested last month during the Colombian government's crackdown on drug cartels and was extradited to Detroit. Meanwhile, in Colombia, 24,000 police and court employees continued an endemic search for private law of government protection against attacks by cartel-linked killers.



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shorten as an option to opposing abortion
abstinence. As well, the tiny New York tabloid
delighted in undermining Giuliani's image as a
devout Roman Catholic after they learned that, in
1982, he had quietly had his 14-year first
marriage annulled on the divorce grounds
that he had just learned his wife was a distant
cousin. Declared Giuliani: "I really think the
newspaper has gotten into the head of pastor-it
doesn't belong."

On the eve of the election, the pressure was
plainly showing on Giuliani. At 11 p.m., he

stated of America's first president, George
Washington, Giuliani made an urgent appeal to
the undecided voters. Asked what a Giuliani
victory would mean, he replied, "It will symbolize
the rejection of negative campaigning and
demonstrate that one of humble beginnings can
succeed if you persevere."

In the end, Giuliani succeeded because,
among other reasons, he clearly proved just
understanding enough to woo wavering white
voters. "David Giuliani is not really a black
politician," said Donald Means, a white Giuliani



Homeless men in Manhattan ally: an overwhelming array of intractable problems

arrived at Republican headquarters on Staten
Island. Red lipstick on his cheek marked an
earlier visit to a senior citizens' home in Little
Italy, where he had heard the women and
demanded to the strains of New York New York.
But the reception that night was different.
Gritting his teeth in fury, Giuliani protested the
unfairness of a local TV interview that gave the
last word to Giuliani during a live backup with
both candidates. Stamping his foot, Giuliani
twice asked the cameraman, "Don't I get a
chance to respond? It's really God damned
silly!" While supporters cheered, "Duke the
Disk," aides headed Giuliani into a private
room, where he angrily demanded more in-
terview—but without success.

Giuliani, meanwhile, made a last-day appeal
to the Democratic mainstream. Appearing at the
Imperial Palace of the Sheraton Plaza, where
he would later celebrate his victory, Giuliani
surrounded himself with such Demo-
cratic party stalwarts as Senator Daniel Patrick
Moynihan, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo
and Koch. And for his final campaign stop,
Giuliani went to the heart of the city's famous
financial district. Standing beneath a banner

please-back co-ordinator. "It's a coalition poli-
tician. But people who are white and for whom
race is an important factor, Giuliani is not
scary. They have nothing to fear."

What Giuliani has to fear now is New York's
overwhelming array of intractable problems,
which he addressed only in the most general
terms during the campaign. Out of a population
of eight million, the city has an estimated two
million residents below the poverty line,
80,000 homeless and 700,000 heroin, cocaine
and amphetamine addicts. Experts say that
fewer than half of the children now in city
schools will graduate with a diploma. Many
children, born with AIDS or addicted to cocaine
while still in the womb, will die before they
even reach school. Whether Giuliani can tackle
these problems effectively—evidenced by the
city's record of crime recently—will be the true test
of his mayoralty. Only that will determine
whether, when future generations look at his
portrait in city hall, they will remember David
Giuliani as a fair mayor, or merely the first
black one.

BILLY NICKENZI in New York



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WORLD

THE UNITED STATES

A stunning photo finish

A slave's grandson is elected in Virginia

David Duke's victory in the New York City mayoral race was not the only source of triumph for a black politician last week. By a mere 2,500 votes—enough to require an official recount—Democrat Douglas Wilder, the grandson of slaves, became the first black elected governor of a U.S. state by edging Republican Marshall Coleman to capture the Virginia state house. Wilder's showing was all the more extraordinary because Virginia hovered on the edge of the pro-segregationist Confederacy during the American Civil War of the 1860s. Wilder still comprises about 80 per cent of Virginia's population. But Wilder, 58, the state's first elected governor for the past four years, captured 46 per cent of the white vote. It's an excellent testimony to the people of Virginia," said Wilder, "to see how he has come in at a very short span of time."

Coleman refused to concede defeat before a latter campaign dominated by negative television commercials. Once known as a moderate liberal politician, Wilder rose as a moderate-to-conservative Democrat and tried to play down the race issue, although it remained a powerful subtextual force. In a state his success was a reflection of the changing demographics of Virginia. While there remain pockets of so-called redneck voters, the enormous population growth in northern Virginia has created a mix of white liberals. They were clearly inclined to vote for a moderate black and were repelled by Coleman's racist appeal.

A 62-year-old former Virginia attorney general, Coleman called for tight restrictions on abortion, while Wilder ruled out a strong position in favor of the abortion option. Sen. Mark Warner, an influential professor of political science at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, Va. "This may send a very strong message to Republicans nationwide."

Still, there was no denying the central historical fact: a man who once had to drink from "Colored Only" water fountains was poised to become chief executive of a once key Confederate state on Jan. 23. A Virginia search-for-owners, they say, summed it up: "Here's a man who isn't being judged on the parameters of his skin, but on his qualifications."

WILLIAM LOWTHER, in Alexandria, Va.

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LEBANON

Celebrations and bombs

Even with a new president, divisions remain

It has home towns of Zgharta in northern Lebanon, friends, relatives and supporters celebrated the Nov. 5 election of Rafik Hariri as the country's new president by pelting him with rice and rosewater, dancing in the streets, firing automatic weapons into the air and dancing each other with French champagne. But three days after the election in Mosken West Beirut, the 64-year-old Maronite Christian was greeted by a mass counter but equally Lebanese force of explosion: the car bomb. One hour before his plane landed at Beirut International Airport on Nov. 8, the detonators of a Volvo packed with 66 lb of explosives reverberated across the divided city. The general blast, which killed four people and wounded 18 others, underscored the rivalry of supporters of Gen. Michel Aoun, the embattled Christian army chief who did everything in his power to prevent the election. Aoun had threatened to stall Lebanon's parliament building if deputies gathered there

to elect a new president. And on Nov. 4, when 58 deputies instead went to Lebanon's northern border at Qaustat to vote, Aoun said his limited authority as the supreme commander of one of two rival governments to dissolve the parliament. Undeterred, the next day the parliamentarians overwhelmingly elected Hariri as president. Undeterred, the next day the parliamentarians overwhelmingly elected Hariri as president. Undeterred, the next day the parliamentarians overwhelmingly elected Hariri as president. Undeterred, the next day the parliamentarians overwhelmingly elected Hariri as president.

In his inaugural address at Qaustat, Hariri, Lebanon's first head of state since two presi-

dential elections were aborted last year under threat of violence, appeared to follow Maronite Christian Aoun to work with him. Said Hariri: "National reconciliation does not exclude anyone, not even those insisting on excluding themselves." But from the bullet-pocked presidential palace at Baabda, a suburb of East Beirut, Aoun said that as long as Syrian troops remained in Lebanon, he would take no part in the reconciliation. Declared Aoun: "Everything that is happening in Qaustat is unconstitutional and void."

In a country grown accustomed to political violence, what happened next shocked even the war-hardened Lebanese. On the night of the election, a mob of Aoun supporters stormed the palace of Nasrallah Shair, Lebanon's 86-year-old Maronite Catholic patriarch, in the mountains just north of Beirut. Riddled by the mob's gunfire, he was taken to the patriarch's deputy. "They wanted the patriarch to say that he recognized Aoun and not Rafik Hariri. They wanted into the leg reception hall and destroyed the oil painting of the patriarch," Jazouli said that the mob then "pasted Aoun's picture over the portrait of Pope John Paul II" who had passed with Shair as urging Aoun to accept the peace plan. Added the bishop: "They tried to make the patriarchs and other bishops kneel before the statue of Aoun."

Aoun did not condemn the massacring of the patriarch's palace. "If [Shair's] convictions are contrary to the convictions of his people, then he must quit," said the general. Shair, who has



Hariri and his wife, Neelie, in Beirut, call for 'national reconciliation'

granted guarantees and reconciliation fled to safety with most of his closest supporters to a Syrian-controlled area north of Beirut. But the violence continued. A three-day protest strike called by Aoun paralyzed Beirut on East Beirut last week. It was followed by gangs of young men who burned tires in the streets to impede

traffic, set off bombs and beat up vegetable vendors who tried to defy the strike.

Although most of Lebanon's Christian political and religious leaders, along with the UN Security Council, the European Community and the Arab League, have called on Aoun to bow to the constitutional authority of Hariri

the defiant military commander clearly retains a considerable following in East Beirut. At frequent rallies in the courtyard of the presidential palace, Aoun's supporters—including about 20,000 soldiers—raise their hands in Hitler-like salutes, chanting: "We sacrifice our blood and souls for you, oh general!"

Aoun claims that his mandate is for all Lebanese—Christians and Muslims alike. But Western observers say that his dissolution of parliament and his refusal to recognize Hariri as president have brought the country closer to partition than ever before. Contradicting Aoun's stated aim, many of his followers seem to favor partition—or at least administrative decentralization for Lebanon's Christian enclave. "The Muslims are another country," said an East Beirut shopkeeper who is a professional Aoun supporter. "Now, I prefer a smaller Christian Lebanon."

Late last week, as Hariri continued his efforts to form a broadly based reconciliation cabinet, even Aoun loyalists expressed doubts about how long the general could maintain his unenviable state in the Christian enclave. Once the new government is announced, it is expected to name a new army chief—further ending Aoun's tenuous position. But with the general showing no signs of compromise, peace in war-torn Lebanon seemed in elusive air.

ANDREW DELSKY with LARA MARJORIE in Beirut

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THE SENSATION OF A NEW ERA

A SYMBOLIC COLLAPSE OF THE IRON CURTAIN

The banners and chants that vibrant citizens wielded against the Berlin Wall on the night of Nov. 9 were just tools to use against the inflexible structure, which has divided the city for decades. Under the heaviest blows, the Wall yielded little more than swarming clumps of concrete.

But for the Berliners who swarmed joyously over the once-impenetrable barrier, and for millions of people around the globe who watched them on television, these hammerblows represented a celebration of the human spirit and its unquenchable hope to live in freedom and at peace. The decision of East Germany's Communist leaders to yield to that spirit—opening both the Berlin Wall and the fortified fence that split Germany westward of the Wall—at least symbolically collapses the Iron Curtain and announces the promise that the Cold War is ending.

The sensation of a new era dawning at Europe was strengthened by its timing on the eve of Remembrance Day, Nov. 11. The coincidence of the anniversary of the armistice that closed the First World War inspired hopes that after 75 years of almost continuous hot and cold war, European hostilities, which engulfed much of the rest of the world as well, might, at long last, be over. At the same time, beneath the euphoria, lay an awareness that there are other dangerous barriers to be overcome before the promise of freedom and peace can be realized.

One peril lies in the very speed of the peaceful revolution that is sweeping Eastern Europe. Another hazard here is the revolution's disruption of established patterns of global politics, which, despite their dangers, provided people on both sides of the Cold War with the comfortable sense of stability that comes with familiarity. It has been less than five years since Mikhail Gorbachev, the chief engineer of change, became the leader of the Soviet Communist party on March 11, 1985. It has taken only 27 weeks—from the time that Hungary began dismantling its border fortifications last May 2, until the breaching of the Berlin Wall last weekend—for the physical division of Europe to dissolve.

In the case of Russia, responding to the Gorbachev halfheartedness of glasnost and perestroika, hard-hearted Communist governors have given way to advocates of openness and restructuring in Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest and now East Berlin. As exhilarating as the transformation has been, the process is a complex and risky of a reaction

chain. As the French poet Paul Valéry observed, "Liberty is the hardest test that one can inflict on a people."

A major test for the reformers is learning quickly how to read the tightrope between stagnation and chaos. Few people but the elderly, anywhere within the Eastern bloc, have any experience of living in a democratic system or of working in a free economy. Now, their problems are complicated by conflicting pressures from the West—the only realistic source of aid to help pull them through a critical period. And the West's appetite for Eastern Europe's political reforms, the World Bank last week advised against lending more money to such debtor nations as Poland without receiving guarantees that even more stringent austerity will help pay off mounting debts. And West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl promised to help East Germany only if its leaders adopted a free-market economy and renounced their conspiracy against Jews.

There are potential hazards in the West as well. Eastern Europe's revolution has fostered the promise of discerning what Gorbachev foresees as "a common European home" from the Soviet Urals Mountains to the Atlantic. For the West, as aid to the arms race, or even a substantial slowdown, will dislocate economies in which military employment and defense industries have been major elements for the past 50 years. In the United States, the military industry has served as a massive public-works program that primes the national economy, employing millions of people and using about one-third of the federal budget.

For Eastern Europeans, the changing internal and external pressures could well prove to be as painful as their long political imprisonment. Karl Schmidt, a 36-year-old mechanic who was among the thousands of East Germans who poured the stream by moving to West Germany, acknowledged that there is discomfort and danger in facing up to the freedom of choice that liberty demands. And Schmidt, "This is the first time in my life that I am free—to decide for myself—and that can be overwhelming." Still, as East German agitators paraded Frank Meißner and last week, "The majority wants to leave home." And throughout history, in among those who huddled on the Berlin Wall last week, hope has been the force that keeps revolutions alive.

CARL MOULDS



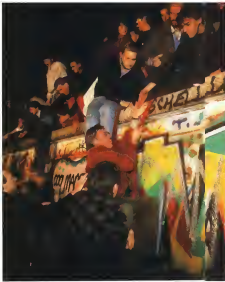
Attacking the Wall and (opposite) emotional response: the hammerblows represented a celebration of the human spirit

FREE AT LAST!

IN THE EASTERN BLOC, THE LIGHTS OF COMMUNISM SEEMED TO BE GOING OUT

The so-called border between the Communist and West German sectors at Schöneweide was heavily guarded. East German cars and motorcycles that drove out on the final weeks to freedom in the West. These cars simply left them in the buffer zone, picked up their bags and walked. These who followed in their hand, say Tinseltown and Westbury can play down the lights for open parts. Meanwhile, the East German Communist party desperate to hold the wall, did not want to dismantle its own but tried to try to shed its repression image. First, on Nov. 9, the government resigned. The next day, the Politburo followed suit, and on Nov. 9, the Berlin Wall was opened up. Jubilant Berliners danced on the once forbidding barrier where about 200 East Germans had been shot or killed by mass while trying to escape during the past 25 years. Some neighbors cheered at the Wall with banners, and a few T-shirts became the hottest selling item on the Kurfürstendamm, West Berlin's main shopping street. It depicted East Germans pouring through the Wall with the slogan "The last one out turns off the light."

Swinging. Throughout Eastern Europe, the lights of communism appeared to be going out. As many East Berliners got their first whiff of freedom, Bulgarian Communist party leader Todor Zhivkov stepped down, ending 35 years of authoritarian rule (page 54). Last weekend, Poland's Communist party accepted defeat in a narrow election and allowed non-Communist to take over the government. Hungary has dissolved its Communist party and promised free elections next year. East Germany has yet to take the irreversible step of giving up repression. But on Friday, the policymaking Central Committee decided a sweeping pol-



Moaning Berlin Wall: a gamble that most East Germans would choose to stay

ogy of reforms—including free elections and access to a free-market economy—will be decided at a meeting next month. Some members of the Politburo frantically protested to keep its reforms, hinted that they would be ready to compete in an election that

could legitimize their party and lead to the eventual repudiation of Germany (page 53).

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl seized the opportunity to offer what he called "a new dimension to our economic aid" to East Germany, but only if it allows free elections and makes

fundamental changes in its state-planned economy. And he held out the prospect of unification, saying that East Germany had "opened the eyes of the world to the fact that the division of our continent is against nature." He announced that he and West German leader Egon Krenz had agreed to meet soon. But Krenz, after talking to Kohl by telephone, said that the reunification question "is not up for discussion at all."

Breaker! The two allies seemed cautiously to await in East Germany, clearly aware that any talk of dissolving Europe's postwar borders would offend the Soviets. U.S. President George Bush praised the "dramatic happenings" but added, "I don't think my bright event is the end of the Cold War."

And Moscow quickly acknowledged that it would not tolerate a united Germany. Calling East Germany "an important, our might my strategic ally," Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov said, "Any unification of Germany is out of the question."

In any case, the fundamental changes in Eastern Europe have far outpaced Soviet-style restrictions. Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika seems modest in comparison. And he remains committed to one-party rule, many Soviet citizens are openly defying that party. On Nov. 7, the 72nd anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, an underground media posted in Moscow, with one banner protesting "12 years on the road to nowhere." In Rostov, the capital of Moldova, thousands of protesters clashed with police while clambering over railway tracks laid up for a parade. Anniversary celebrations were also disrupted or boycotted by students in Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, Latvia, Estonia and Ukraine.

But it was in East Germany, a country that owes its very existence to socialism, that popular discontentment, uncontainable beyond the Communist party's control. Party leaders, trying to relieve the pressure, decided to let their

citizens express directly over the border to West Germany—even through the Berlin Wall. The move was clearly a calculated gamble that, given the freedom to leave, most East Germans would choose to stay. Early indications were that the risk was paying off. A West Berlin official said that, of the tens of thousands of East Germans who flooded into West Berlin at the first 24 hours after the border opened, only 1,300 to 1,500 had registered as emigrants. Most were merely visitors, who spent



Breakout at Brandenburg Gate: euphoric mobs surged through

a few hours taking on the night before returning home—at least for the time being.

Chorus. Martin's brother Walter John Benen witnessed the first chaotic night and day of unbridled travel. His report:

It took about three hours for the implications of the announcement to sink in. Then came spontaneous, East and West in a joyful embrace at the checkpoints. I watched West Berliners throwing flowers into the hands of

Berliners swept into police and rushed to the Wall. They climbed it and were immediately embraced by West Berliners who had gathered on the other side. Some who carried the Wall around banners, with which they broke off concrete chunks in souvenirs. They were told that the East German police would permit. They brought out wine and beer to celebrate the event and made several arrests. East German sergeant officer: "They cannot be allowed to cross here. This is not an authorized checkpoint."

Only a handful of the thousands who came from the East were carrying the luggage that indicated an intention to stay. Most were just there to see the previously forbidden bright lights of the West. One middle-aged woman even leaped the wall right as a dressing gown slipped. She had been preparing to go to sleep, she said, when "I suddenly decided that I just had to take a look around." A blond man, guided by a Sony-Spey dog, said he, "I just wanted to smell the air of a free Berlin."

Punching. The next day, West German officials celebrated that 300,000 East Berliners had swarmed their city. The Bonn government gave each visitor 500 spending money, and later on the Kurfürstendamm sold beer at sharply reduced prices. The streets were so packed that people had to wait 30 minutes to get through Checkpoint Charlie, a famed crossing point where East and West used to exchange goods. Later, large crowds cheered on East German border guards as they began punching huge holes in the Wall and painting large slabs of concrete aside.

Only a month ago, dismantling the Wall would have been unthinkable. East German leaders were

Across a chaotic time



staunchly resistant to the changes sweeping Eastern Europe, and the rights of the German citizens, which began when the Hunsprung opened a gap in the Iron Curtain earlier this year, accelerated when Helmut Kohl signed the new Berlin in September. That forced the resignation of Erich Honecker, the 77-year-old party leader who, as interior minister in 1961, was responsible for erecting the Berlin Wall. Honecker was German chairman Willy Brandt, mayor of West Berlin when the Wall went up, paid celebrations there last week.

Honecker's successor, the

50-year-old Krenz took over on Oct. 18, promising a gradual but consistent reform and no compromises on one-party rule. The stream of refugees became a flood when Gorbachev followed Hungary's example and opened its frontier on Nov. 8. Then, once the 62,000 East Germans have fled the country

The total number of refugees and legal emigrants this year now exceeds 225,000, and West German officials estimate that between 1.2 and 1.4 million more want to leave.

Those who remain have become increasingly bold in choosing for change. On Nov. 6, more than half a million demonstrators took to the streets of eight East German cities demanding free elections and an end to all travel restrictions. The next day, a parliamentary committee rejected a draft law that would have allowed East Germans to travel 20 days a year in the West, saying that it did not go far enough. Prime Minister Willy Stoph and the entire Politburo cabinet then resigned. On Nov. 8, Krenz demanded the resignation of his Politburo colleagues as well, while retaining the leadership of the party, and nominated a younger, more streamlined body.

The size of the Politburo was reduced to 11 members from 21, and its average age was lowered to 51 from 58. In all, five new secretaries were named, and 100 members were renewed and 10 old hard-liners were dropped—including Honecker. In the most notable concession to reformers, Hans Modrow, the 62-year-old party chief in Dresden and a strong advocate of liberalization, was brought into the Politburo and nominated as the vice-prime minister. However, more senior Communists expressed disappointment that the Politburo still had holdovers from the old regime. "It is a halfhearted change," said Alfred Kuehn, a Marxist theorist at the Academy of Sciences. His vote was echoed by more than 5,000 rank-and-file Communist party members who demonstrated to demand a special congress with the power to remove the entire leadership and create a new party rules.

Outraged: Piously alarmed, Krenz fired five of the six holdovers on Friday night. And he announced that some of their top doctrinal changes for, as he put it, "grossly damaging the reputation of the party." The Central Committee also scheduled a party conference for Dec. 15 to 17 to discuss personnel changes in that 140-member body. But it was when it will debate the national law that would allow opposition groups to participate. Asked if the party could be voted out of power, Gerd Scheubroe, the East Berlin party chief and Politburo member responsible for media, replied, "Theoretically, that is possible. But

he added, "I don't expect me to say the [Communist party] will go into the debris with the socialist idea that it could be wiped off the political map." At present, the Communist party has 2.5 million members out of a population of 16.5 million. Its chief challenger would be the New Forum group, which was banned

East German state television was besieged by calls after it interrupted a program on African elephants tending to break the news. An East Berlin waitress shouted at you, saying "We will storm Kitzbühel," an acronym for West Berlin's fashionable Department Store of the West. In the early hours of Friday morning

large crowds of East Berliners surged through in over the Wall, while hundreds of West Berliners mobbedCheckpoint Charlie. West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper urged East Berliners to delay their trips because the city could not cope with the crush of visitors. But his televised appeal was largely ignored.

Concern: On Friday night, 24 hours after the rebel on television, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the East Germans were planning to open 14 new border crossings—five in the Wall and 13 in other parts of the heavily fortified border. But although Kohl steadily maintained that all refugees were welcome, legislators have expressed growing concern about what they called "a manifestation on West German soil." Wolfgang Meckbach, floor leader of the liberal Free Democratic Party in Kohl's coalition, would go on during early session of parliament Thursday night with an appeal to East Germans: "For those who are still undecided, I beseech you, stay at home," he said.

The Bonn government appealed to 40 NATO allies for the use of their military bases to house refugees. External Affairs Minister Josi Clark, the first to respond, offered armed barracks and vacant land on the two Canadian bases at Labrador and Baden-Söllingen. But the German Canadian Congress angrily charged that Ottawa was not doing enough. Ron Schuler, Manitoba director of the Ottawa-based magazine, criticized the government for not asking an exception to immigration rules to allow East German refugees to come to Canada from West Germany. Ottawa has taken the position that because East Germany nationalized every motive West German citizenship when they cross the border, they are no longer refugees and cannot use such status for quick entry into Canada. Schuler complained was "Cold War rhetoric" but conceded that the program might have to "rethink its position if reunification occurs."

The changes in East Germany have been so rapid that analysts are still trying to assess their significance. Bennett Kovinsky, a political science professor at the University of Toronto, said that if East Germany becomes democratic, the pressure within Czechoslovakia would be irresistible. "Then you would have a solid platform, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia and



East German border guard with reverent kneeling and blessing

shortly after its formation two months ago. Krenz during the party's worst crisis since it was formed 40 years ago launched a stinging attack on his predecessor in a speech to the Central Committee on Nov. 8. He accused Honecker of "hesitant, even repelling attitudes" and making "wrong judgments." The



next day, almost casually, Gorbachev dropped his bombshell about the opening of East German borders. He told a news conference that the concrete and barbed wire Berlin Wall would not come down immediately, but added, "We will make a move from our side."



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Hungary, marching to an entirely different drummer," he said. "That would seriously change the balance of power." East Germany would be more or less whole again, at least up to the borders of the Soviet Union. The latter would still be a great power, analysts say, but it would no longer have a buffer of subservient satellites. The United States would still be needed in Europe, but less to rebuff Soviet power than as a example of economic vitality for the sluggish Eastern Europeans.

Northmen However, that can only happen if Gorbachev sticks by his pledge not to sacrifice German unity. Gorbachev reiterated the Soviet commitment to what he has called the "Sinatra Doctrine"—the Eastern Europeans can do it their way. And Western scholars generally agree that it is too late for Gorbachev to revert to the Brezhnev Doctrine issued for the former Soviet general secretary, and used in the tactics that he may come under strong pressure from his military if the Eastern European buffer zone crumbles too quickly. George Carver, a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., said that the prospect of German reunification is causing "considerable heartburn in the Soviet general staff." A few members of that group are the same generals who put down a workers' revolt in East Germany in 1963, invaded Hungary in 1956, invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968—and would have invaded Poland in 1981 had Warsaw's pact, East Germany's partner, not taken them the initiative and cracked down on the rebellious Solidarity trade union.

The U of T's Kevyn also cautioned against exaggerating the importance of the changes in East Germany. Democratic reform, he pointed

out, came more easily to Poland and Hungary because it did not alter their sovereignty. East Germany is different because it is purely a socialist creation, the result of a post-Second World War division of territory by the victors on allies. "It is gone socialist and free-market, it has no reason for existence," said Kevyn. Even if Eastern Europe does go pluralist, the

fear for their satellites—Eastern Europeans have been led to believe that their decision-making would be done by instruments of the state. Now, the nations are suddenly telling them to think for themselves. Not surprisingly, many of those no longer know what to think. But last week, as the capitalist gods marched through the streets of West Berlin, they were



East Berliners passing through Checkpoint Charlie there to see the bright lights

most obstacle to freedom's return may be the other political and economic, but one of attitude. Already, nations in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union have found that it was much easier to shove people into the pen of totalitarianism than it is to coax them out. But decades—seven in the case of the Soviets and

too long celebrating to worry about tomorrow.

HOLGER JENSEN and **JOHN BIERMAN** in West Berlin, **PEGGY TRAUTMAN** in Bonn, **SEB BASTIENMAN** in Schwelm, **ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH** in Munich, **MARY MCKINTY** in Toronto and James reports

THE RELENTLESS MARCH OF TIME

The division of Germany at the end of the Second World War in 1945 separated east-western and families, and it opened a part of the coming Cold War between the democratic, industrial West and the autocratic, communist East. Some key developments in postwar German history.

1948: On May 7, New Germany surrenders unconditionally to the Allies and the German state ceases to exist. At the Potsdam Conference in July, the occupying powers divide Germany into American, British, Soviet, and French zones. Berlin, entirely in the Soviet zone, is occupied by all four powers and is governed by an allied-Nazi authority. Degraded Germany in the Soviet zone begins a state similar to the West, which

by 1961, had more than three million people. **1949:** In June, the United States, Britain and France agree on a development plan for their zones, providing for a federal German government to administer the Allied zone. In response, the Soviet Union blocks the Allied highways, as well as West Berlin's 2.5 million people, to hopes of driving out the Western powers. The tactic fails as the Allies organize an airlift of supplies to the beleaguered sector. **1949:** In May, the Soviets lift their blockade of West Berlin. The Allies eventually reach a tacit agreement with the Soviets that leaves Berlin divided into western and eastern sectors under separate administrations. In September, the three Western-occupied zones proclaim themselves the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The following month, the Soviet-occupied zone declares itself the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). **1954:** In March, the Soviet Union grants sovereignty to East Germany, which two months later becomes a founding member of the Warsaw Pact.

1955: In May, West Germany becomes a sovereign state and a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

1961: To stem the flow of refugees across borders in the West, in January, East German soldiers construct a wall between East and West Berlin. For years, the Berlin Wall stands as both a physical and symbolic barrier to freely East-West relations.

1962: On a June visit to West Berlin, President John F. Kennedy delivers one of the most celebrated speeches in his career: a defiant challenge to Communism. Kennedy declares, "All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words: 'Ich bin ein Berliner' [I am a Berliner]."

1989: With the announcement last week by East Germany that its citizens can migrate or travel freely to the West, the Berlin Wall—last symbolically—begins to crumble. □

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IN SEARCH OF UNION

REBELLIOUS THROUGHS RAISE THE GERMAN QUESTION

The German Question: The issue has haunted Europe for so long that little more is required to describe it than that simple code. In the lexicon of modern European affairs, it refers to the largely unspoken but widely held negotiation around the prospect of re-emergence in the heart of the continent of a powerful German state. Since the end of the Second World War, when the country was forcibly divided,

the Soviet Union. According to diplomats in Moscow, while Soviet officials are not eager to refold the country that is their prime source of Western enrichment, they are plainly unhappy with the notion of a secure postwar German state. East German Moscow-based Western diplomats, however, are convinced that the Soviet Union and Western powers all have a common interest in opposing. After all, the Allies and the Soviet Union all fought a war against

disputed those negotiations when he celebrated last week that West Germans "are not wanderers between two worlds."

Danger. Meanwhile, the West's concern that the German question could affect an area that controls most immediately on the danger that reunification in East Germany could appeal to the armed forces. That could lead to a Soviet crackdown that would end liberalization in Eastern Europe and curtail ongoing efforts in



East German refugees: 'No decision could be taken yet again'

Vietnam to bring about a reduction of conventional military forces in the continent. But, conversely, Western leaders express concern that a breakdown of East Germany's military machine could prompt an eventual crumbling of political and military authority in the same Eastern Bloc, including the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. That too could wreck the Vietnam talks, because there would no longer be a Warsaw Pact with which to negotiate a far-reaching and binding arms-reduction agreement. NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner, himself a West German, recently declared that he found himself in the odd position of praying for the survival of the Warsaw Pact, "hoping that military stability in the East will moderate political change."

In any case, political change within both Germanys now seems certain. Even before the opening of the border,

Germany. Why give this country another chance at becoming a superpower, with the added risk of unleashing the rest of Europe?

Quest. There are also concerns that the sudden re-emergence of the German Question on the international agenda threatens to overshadow and compromise two major endeavours. Europe's march towards the 1992 single market and the quest for an East-West conventional-arms accord. West Germany's allies have expressed concern that Bonn, Europe's dominant economic power and a driving force behind the move towards enhanced European Community union, could be deflected from the single-market goal by its interest in reunification and the prospect of dealing economic gains in Eastern Europe. Not only personally

der, the angry crowds in East Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden were part of a process that is reshaping a new era in Europe, drawing the order that has existed for the last four decades. The Germanys, whatever their political boundaries, will clearly play a major role. "With the crumbling of the Soviet empire," said George Schoplin, an Eastern European specialist at the London School of Economics, "Germany is fated to become the European superpower of the coming decades." That is a prospect that Germany's neighbors, whatever their concerns, only will have to face.

BARRY CANE with **PETER LORIS** in Brussels, **ANTHONY RUSCON-SMITH** in Moscow and **WILLIAM CLAYTON** in Washington, D.C.

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Czechoslovakian police detain a protest or activists are regularly imprisoned

dens of speech and travel and lifted state censorship that in August, 1988, Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia. Dubček was replaced by a hard-line regime that has continued in one grip on the population ever since. "The invasion was a crushing blow," said Gordon Skilling, an expert on Czechoslovakia and a professor emeritus of political science at the University of Toronto. "It just knocked the breath out of the people."

Consensus: The hopes of change in Czechoslovakia have been tempered by the memory of that invasion and by the country's relative prosperity—it enjoys the second-highest standard of living in the Eastern bloc, after East Germany. "Czechoslovakia is at a unique situation," said Jaroslav Stedry, who was the Dubček government's chief economic adviser and who now teaches political science at Carleton University in Ottawa. "There is no acute economic crisis, and people live more or less normally." He added, "They think, 'Why should we now go into [demonstrations] and then, if everything fails, be worse off?'"

The government has made some concessions. Jakes has promised to introduce *privatizace*, a timid version of Soviet economic reforms. And earlier this year, the government released some state-owned newspapers. But Prague leaders have rejected more sweeping reforms. Some Western observers say that Jakes maintains contact with hard-liners in the Soviet Politburo who would eradicate his conservative policies if they manage to oust Gorbachev. But Jakes may not be able to hold out indefinitely.

Isolated: Until last month, East Berlin had been Prague's most important hard-line ally. Now, said opposition activist Václav Malý, "Our party leadership is more and more isolated from all sides." And the Charter 77 human-rights movement, founded in 1977 when 2,000 prominent intellectuals signed a manifesto demanding democratic change, appears to be winning growing support.

Meanwhile, many ordinary Czechoslovaks have seen East Germany streaming across their country to West Germany and Sweden. Last week, one man, watching a trainload of East Germans leave Prague's central train station, said wistfully, "If only we had a West Czechoslovakia..."

Czech writer Josef Skvorecky, who fled to Canada in 1969, noted that "there are pressures internally and externally, and if the situation remains the same in Moscow, I don't think that even Czechoslovakia can remain unchanged." Although Skvorecky and other observers express doubts that the change will come quickly, they point out that the momentum within East Germany could scarcely have been predicted just a few weeks ago. Clearly, the momentum for change could yet knock down another dozen.

MARY HUMPHREY with SOE MASTERSMAN
in Prague

COVER

UNLEASHING DEMOCRACY

REFORMS SWEEP EASTERN EUROPE

The domino theory has turned on its head. In the 1960s, U.S. military strategists used the term to justify American involvement in Vietnam.

the fall of Saigon to Communist forces would lead to the collapse of other Southeast Asian countries and spread even farther. Now, a kind of reverse domino theory describes the momentum sweeping through the Eastern bloc. Since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev began introducing economic and political reforms in 1985, Poland and Hungary have made rapid strides toward democracy—and even staunchly hard-line East Germany is making desperate pledges of reform. What country will be next? Many experts say Czechoslovakia, but Bulgaria may also be making a bid. Last week, Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov, 74, stepped after 35 years in power. He was replaced as Communist party leader by 50-year-old Foreign Minister Petar Mladenov. The move came just a week after more than 4,000 Bulgarians, shouting "glasnost" and

"democracy," protested in Sofia in that country's first independent demonstration in four decades. Mladenov immediately promised reforms, but diplomats in Sofia said that the changes were not likely to be radical.

Prized: The conventional wisdom among Western observers is that liberalism is more likely to hit Czechoslovakia first. Already, there are evident cracks in the Communist party's all-pervasive authority. On Oct. 28, more than 20,000 people defied hard-line police to march through Prague demanding democratic change. Since last July, more than 35,000 people have signed their names to a petition that sets out a program for reform. The government, led by hard-line party general secretary Milos Jakes, has offered some token reforms. But it has reacted harshly to overt protest. During the Oct. 28 demonstration, police detained over 350 protesters.

Czechoslovakia has flirted with freedom in the past. For a few months in 1968, Communist party leader Alexander Dubček proposed free-



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Again this year the Kenneth R. Wilson Memorial Awards for business journalistic excellence were dominated by the editors and artists of Maclean Hunter Business Publishing. Proof positive that all of our efforts and emphasis on editorial quality and excellence continue to succeed. Of the 22 Kenneth R. Wilson awards handed out this year, no fewer than 12 went to Maclean Hunter Business Publishing recipients. And these awards don't come easily. They are a result of professionalism. Commitment. And just plain hard work. They reflect not only what we wish every Maclean Hunter publication to be, but also what our editors and artists have come to demand of themselves. But the big winners are the readers of Maclean Hunter business publications. They know that editorial quality, independence and expertise deliver the real value of a business journal to its readers. And readers everywhere recognize Maclean Hunter people as delivering the very best.

1989 Kenneth R. Wilson Awards

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Drug Merchandising, George Peir and
Rudolf Noble, Henry Cookman
Retail, John Harrison, Orleans Macdonald
Real Estate, Colin Saver, George Knapp
Journals, Michael Peat, Billy Power
and Mike Houston, Computer, Jennifer

Artists
Bon Gale, Canadian Research, Ben
Kely, Canadian Secretary, Brian
Hughes and Ron Simons, Chris Hall
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INVESTING JAPAN-STYLE

They dined on cod hognose in St. John's, Nfld., visited the federal house of Anne of Green Gables on Prince Edward Island, took a half-copper tour over Niagara Falls and went shopping in the famed West Edmonton Mall. When their 30-day tour of Canada ended on Nov. 2, the weary group of 48 high-powered Japanese business executives, led by Mitsubishi Corp. president Shirokita Masakazu, had been entertained by all 10 provincial premiers, met with the Prime Minister and International Trade Minister John Crosbie and toured everything from a New Brunswick potato-processing plant to Toronto's SkyDome. It will be another before Ottawa and the provinces find out if their hospitality paid off. In February the visitors are scheduled to report on Canada's investment climate, but a preliminary verdict has already been delivered—Japanese investment in Canada is declining drastically.

Japanese firms, including powerful banks and cement firms, have amassed a pool of \$21 trillion in assets, which is now mostly available for mergers and acquisitions. Since that is more than even the buoyant Japanese economy can handle, Japanese firms are scouring Canada as part of its global search for investment opportunities. But not everyone is selling out the welcome carpet. The recent Japanese purchase of two chartered United States coasters—the port of Vancouver, British Columbia—has led to a Japanese trade embargo with Japan ended without progress.

For Ottawa, which supports increased Japanese investment, the growing animosity between Japan and the United States is welcome in the short run—although tensions are evident already in Canada's Officially Developed Countries further commitment. As federal industry Minister Harris Auld told the delegation of visiting Japanese businessmen: "I'll be frank. We do not receive our fair share [of Japanese investment]."

TENSIONS RISE AS JAPANESE FIRMS SHARPLY INCREASE THEIR INVESTMENTS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Washington, in contrast, is deeply concerned by the Japanese investment surge. During 1988, direct Japanese investment in the United States soared by 32 per cent, compared with 1987, to \$64 billion for the past two months alone, Japanese firms have announced more

than \$12 billion in purchases in the United States, including Sony Corp.'s takeover of Columbia and Matsushita's Rockwell purchase. Other Japanese-driven transactions are reportedly in the offing, including a \$1.6 billion bid by Tokyo Department Store Co. Ltd. for the Canadian Hotel Group's aging Bonaventure, a department-store chain.

And in an unexpected move last week, signaling acknowledgment of Japanese superior technological knowledge, American computer-aided design (CAD) firms agreed to work with Japan's biggest electronics companies to produce critical components for high-definition television, the next generation of video technology.

But clearly, American resentment of Japan's growing U.S. presence is building. According to a poll by the U.S. magazine *Newsweek*, 43 per



Timothy Kraso and Tamara Matsunaga at Randi's hot springs popular

cent of Americans opposed the Sony-Columbia deal. Even since members of the Rockefeller family expressed regret about Matsushita's recent 50-per-cent purchase of Rockwell Group Inc., which was based on a decision by trust directors to divest its holdings out of

real estate. At the same time, although Britain is still the largest single foreign investor in the United States, Japanese companies' grab most of the headlines because it is the greater economic rival. For many Americans, the purchase of two famed U.S. steel sectors and cultural landmarks, including Rockefeller Center's 69-story office complex, with such American names as Radio City Music Hall, Statue City and Time Warner Inc., took on almost symbolic proportions.

These massive investments in the United States also are fueling the debate over Japanese trade practices. The U.S. government blames discriminatory Japanese trade policies, such as antiquated distribution and procurement systems, for its mounting trade deficit with Japan, which stood at \$40.5 billion at the end of 1988 despite efforts to cut the shortfall. As one economist with the U.S. Department of Commerce, who asked not to be identified, told *Newsweek*: "By refusing to increase more U.S. imports, the Japanese are putting funds from us and then using those funds to buy assets in this country. It fills under the helmet of a net playing loss."

No topic is as tight. After two days of often heated talks in Washington last week the latest round of trade talks between the two countries last September, there were no signs of finding a solution to the U.S. Japan trade imbalance. Concerned on senior U.S. official involved in the negotiations, who asked not to be identified, "It

was disappointing, very disappointing."

In Canada, where the federal government wants a bigger cut of Japanese investment, Japanese firms can count on a far warmer reception. Overall direct Japanese investment in Canada rose to \$94 million in 1988, up from \$329 million the previous year and \$42 million in 1979. That investment level puts Japan fifth among foreign investors in Canada, behind the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany and the Netherlands.

But despite the recent Japanese investment levels, Canada still receives less than two per cent of all Japanese foreign investment—compared with 44 per cent in the United States. But federal government officials said that the Canadian share should be closer to four per cent of the total reflecting the fact that Canada is about one-tenth the size of the United States.

Still, the Japanese desire to invest in Canada is growing. Japanese firms have long sought access to Canadian natural resources to fuel both their domestic industry and North American operations. But now, they are starting to spread their investments in to other industries such as high technology and manufacturing. One of the major reasons for the change is investment in the nearly one-year-old Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Canadian trade officials say that Japanese businesses increasingly are looking in Canada as a way to gain access to the U.S. under free trade. Concluded Michael Howard, director of Burns Fry Pacific Ltd., a subsidiary of Toronto-based

CANADIAN DOLLAR SCARS

The Canadian dollar climbed to a six-month high (1.5)—its highest level in nine years—as investors rushed to take advantage of the widening gap between high interest rates in Canada and falling rates in the United States. The surge came after several U.S. banks lowered their bid/asker prime lending rates by one-half of a percentage point.

FARM POLICY OVERHAUL

Agriculture Minister Donald Manion announced a controversial discussion paper on Canadian agricultural policy, which, among other things, suggested eliminating subsidies on specific commodities in favor of a guaranteed annual income for farmers.

PWL LAUNCHES

Calgary-based PWA Corp., which took over Wardair Inc. in January, announced that it will lay off 604 seasonal Wardair employees in the Toronto area by next March, as well as an undisclosed number of management staff at its other subsidiary, Canadian Airlines International Ltd. PWA has already eliminated about 1,000 jobs at Wardair and integrated the operations of the two airlines as its effort to save money at Wardair.

AIR CANADA PROFITS TAKE OFF

Air Canada's profits climbed to \$71 million for the three months ended Sept. 30, up 34 per cent from the same period a year ago. The company said that it has gained passengers from Air and troubled Eastern Airlines Inc. of Miami.

ENTER THE ROBINSONS GROUP

The Robinsons Group—established in the early 1980s and still one of Europe's leading merchant banks—announced that it plans to open offices in Toronto and Vancouver in the near future.

MASSIVE HYDRO DEAL

Meadow Hydro chairman Brian Kavanagh said that the utility is on the verge of concluding a \$142-million, 25-year deal to supply Ontario Hydro with power from the proposed Conneville power station in the Nelson River.

CLOSING IN ON CONNAUGHT

French car-maker Renault Miravet Inc. extended its \$142-million, 25-year deal for Toronto-based Connaught Resources Inc. to Nov. 16. But although Miravet has acquired almost enough shares to gain control of Connaught, the deal still requires approval from investment Canada.

Morohashi (front), Crosbie: \$21-billion asset pool



most have. Burns Pty Ltd. "I like Free Trade Agreements" helped put Canada on the map for Japanese investors."

Signs of the growing Japanese presence in Canada abound. The big Japanese auto companies—Toyota Corp., Suzuki Motor Co. and Honda Motor Co.—all have manufacturing facilities in Canada. And Su-

zuki's Heavy Industries of Tokyo's \$50-million purchase of Alcan's, Goddard laser-equipment manufacturer, Laramore Inc. last May shows that Japanese companies are even interested in investing in Canadian high-tech industry firms. Investment Canada, which must approve all foreign acquisitions, notes, pages web take-over on the basis that they be in Canada's national interest. Since 1984, Investment Canada has not stopped any foreign takeovers.

But the forestry sector has drawn the most attention from the Japanese. In February, 1988, Daishowa Paper Manufacturing Co. Ltd. began building a \$500-million pulp mill at Peace River, Alta. Then, later that year Daishowa spent another \$531 million to buy the North American paper operations of London-based Borel International Inc., whose main operation is a newsprint mill at Prince George, B.C. Meanwhile, Forest Industries Ltd. of Cranbrook, B.C., which is 64.5 per cent owned by Japanese investors is building the world's largest pulp mill at a \$1.3-billion project in northern Alberta in Athabasca. Said Kenji Nakagawa, the Vancouver-based president of Daishowa Forest Products Ltd.: "We came here because there was an opportunity for a good investment, and because we were welcome."

Hotels and other potentially lucrative pieces of Canadian real estate are also favorite targets. Last November, the Globe Company Ltd. of Tokyo bought 13 hotels owned by the Vancouver-based Coast Hotels Ltd. chain. In April, 1988, Sun Emergence of Japan bought the 400,000-square-foot Shangri-La Hotel Bank of Canada building in downtown Vancouver for \$150 million. And last month, Japan Palms Development Canada Ltd. paid \$23 million—a Vancouver record of \$175,000 per room—for the 180-room O'Dell's Hotel in Vancouver. A number of guests in Whistler, B.C., and Banff, Alta., both extremely popular destinations with Japanese tourists, have seen Japanese ownership increase in recent years. During the past two years, Japanese interests have bought three

major hotels in Banff—the Cascade Inn, Inn of Banff Park and, most recently, the Rowan Inn—which account for roughly 30 per cent of the town's top-level accommodations.

In Whistler, meanwhile, Japanese buyers purchased five hotels in 1988 including the Newco Green Olympic Lodge, which

the Alberta-British Columbia border.

At the same time, Japan is showing growing interest in the Canadian steel industry. Mitsubishi struck a tentative deal earlier this month with Stelco Steel that could see the Japanese giant become half owner of Stelco's new \$100-million manufacturing plant at Hamilton.

Qat. Aki Miki, Corp., one of Japan's largest trading companies, has lost \$60 million in another Hamilton smelter, \$200 million to build a new cold-rolling steel mill.

Shiro Chono, an analyst with Toronto-based investment dealer Richardson Grenville & Co. Ltd., says that Japanese firms are likely to pour more money into the steel industry as they follow their prime domestic customers, the auto companies, to Canada. Added Chono: "The Japanese are no longer just interested in being buyers to the Canadian steel industry. They want to have a presence here."

But even in Canada, Japanese investors are facing criticism. Federal environment officials have criticized two Japanese-backed pulp megaprojects planned for Alberta and have called for a major ecological-impact study to be done. Earlier this year, the proliferation of Japanese businesses in British Columbia, particularly among locals, who voiced concern that the natural beauty of the port would be sacrificed for a megaproject tourist mecca. And the decision by owners of the Banff hotels to market their rooms mostly in Asia prompted the Canada Parks Service to impose a 30-per-cent quota on hotels that must be held for Canadian tourists.

Still, there has been a dramatic shift in mood since the first government-sponsored delegation of Japanese executives came to Canada in 1978. At that time, the intellectuals organized in Tokyo and reported that Canada was mired in labor problems and conservative to foreign investment. The latest Japanese delegation has said that Canada has made great strides during the past 15 years. And over, Ottawa is hoping that high grades mean that Canada gets a larger share of Japan's massive and growing wealth.

JOHN DEBORGH with KARA GOR TULLOCH and JOHN MULLENDER in Toronto. IRL QUINN in Vancouver. JOHN BURSE in Calgary. DAVID LINDSAY in New York City and WILIAM LOWYER in Washington

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Rockefeller Center: buying powerful symbols of U.S. economic might

was owned by the former Olympic champion. And earlier this month, a subsidiary of the Chobun Group of Nippon, which owns a chain of restaurants and hotels in Japan, paid \$30 million for the golf Indian Hot Springs Golf Resort, about 80 km west of



Escape from high costs

Business is saving money in the suburbs

For many businesses and individuals in Toronto, living in Canada's largest city has become just too expensive and congested. Toronto's hot economy, which has fueled for seven straight years, has pushed office rents, apartment rents and housing prices to punishingly high levels. As a result, both workers and businesses are moving to the far edges of Metropolitan Toronto. And some hard-pressed individuals are moving even farther afield. Ross Sharpe, a native of Prince Edward Island, lived in Toronto for 16 years before deciding to move back to the Maritimes last summer. Sharpe, 40, now lives in Halifax, where he is a publisher's representative and co-owner of Personal Books, a small publishing house with offices in both cities. Said Sharpe: "There were too many people, too many cars and too much pollution."

But despite the move to cheaper areas, many analysts say that both employees and businesses will ultimately find little relief. Toronto, and the cities in the Greater Toronto area—from Oakville on the west to Oshawa on the east—continue to pull in Canadians looking for work. And Metropolitan Toronto officials have estimated that the population of the whole region will balloon to 5.8 million by 2011, from

its present level of 3.8 million. That vast intensity of that growth, about two million people, will take place in the regions just outside the metropolitan area.

Indeed, Metropolitan Toronto itself lost 38,225 more people than it gained last year, and according to Metropolitan Toronto planning officials, present surveys show that at least 52 firms with between 200 and 499 employees have left the metropolitan area since 1987. Another 13 firms with more than 500 employees left during the same period. Firms such as business information company Dun & Bradstreet Canada Ltd., manufacturer Dorey Electronics and a large segment of Revenue Canada have all recently moved to locations outside Metropolitan Toronto.

Still, the move to the edges of Greater Toronto has not caused downtown office buildings to be empty. As some employers pull out, the new vacancies at the downtown core are rapidly filling up with highly paid professionals

such as accountants, lawyers, bankers and insurers, who are prepared to pay premium rents for a downtown location. Realtor Joseph Castaldi, general manager of Brown West Realty Inc., calls the trend "the Manhattanization" of Toronto. He says that he expects the pressure to continue as the cost of living and doing business in Toronto escalates. Predicted Castaldi: "Average property prices in Toronto will jump by five times in the next 10 years." As a result, many firms are moving, not simply to cut the cost of office space, but also to be closer to their labor force.

Despite the rising population in the region, employers are also finding that it is increasingly difficult to cross potential employees in Toronto from other cities. James Parr, a partner in the executive search nation of consultants First Merwest Stronach & Kellogg, said that even annual salaries as high as \$75,000 to \$80,000 are no longer enough to convince an employee to make the move from Montreal to Toronto. And employers from other cities also say that they are concerned about the quality of life in Toronto, citing congestion and rising costs as major worries. Added Parr: "The trouble is,

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Toronto\$277,186
Vancouver\$306,024
Montreal\$109,851
Calgary\$109,139
Halifax\$94,013
Edmonton	.....\$89,596
St. John's	.....\$84,423
Winnipeg	.....\$83,472
St. John	.....\$73,176
Regina	.....\$70,155



Avg. Rent for a One-Bedroom Apt.

Toronto	.....\$493
Vancouver	.....\$482
Halifax	.....\$463
St. John's	.....\$451
Montreal	.....\$440
Winnipeg	.....\$417
Calgary	.....\$407
Edmonton	.....\$396
Regina	.....\$396
St. John	.....\$338



Avg. Rent for Prime Office Space per sq. ft.

Toronto	.....\$43.00
Montreal	.....\$32.00
Vancouver	.....\$32.00
St. John's	.....\$25.00
Regina	.....\$24.00
St. John	.....\$24.00
Calgary	.....\$22.00
Winnipeg	.....\$21.00
Halifax	.....\$20.00
Edmonton	.....\$18.00

Statistics are the most recent available

they run. Toronto, reveals how well she's "in good luck" in the city.

And Brian Herbe, president of executive search firm the Ashbridge Group in Toronto, noted that it is now almost impossible to recruit skilled employees. Said Herbe: "I used to be able to move people for higher salaries, but now I have to do all the time because people from other cities don't want to move here and then face driving from Mississauga to Scarborough."

For people living a mile to Toronto from a city with lower-cost housing, Toronto housing prices pose a major obstacle. While the \$277,346 average house price in Toronto is not of much help for many first-time house buyers, comparable houses in satellite communities such as Brampton cost \$200,000 and \$100,000 less.

The cheaper land in the Greater Toronto area is also attractive for Toronto-area companies. Prime office space rents for between \$36 and \$44 per square foot in downtown Toronto, compared with \$29 to \$35 per square foot for top-quality space in nearby Mississauga or



Traffic congestion in Toronto: more housing growth is expected

Scarborough. Office rents are also dramatically cheaper elsewhere in Canada. Indeed, Envy Canada Pipelines recently announced that it was moving from Toronto to Calgary and, as a result, would save \$1 million annually in office costs alone.

But developers Toronto remains a favored location for those companies that depend on

prestige and close contacts with their city-based clients. In fact, even some companies that have moved suburban locations are now returning, at least in part, to the downtown core to be near their customers and advisors such as lawyers. Three years ago, Cigna Insurance Co. of Canada moved from northern Toronto to Scarborough, but now it is moving back to the Scotia Plaza, in the heart of the city's financial district, for its executive employees.

But with the anticipated surge of even more people into southern Ontario, it is likely that the advantages and disadvantages of being in Canada's largest city will become more pronounced. When that happens, the consequences of choices like those made by Herbe's clients become even more perplexing: whether to opt for the professional and financial advantages of Toronto, or the rewards of living in a less expensive place with a slower pace.

Storpe could become even more perplexing: whether to opt for the professional and financial advantages of Toronto, or the rewards of living in a less expensive place with a slower pace.

PATRICIA GREENHOUSE with ANN PALAS-LEY in Toronto and GLEN ALLEN in Halifax

Pulling the plug at CKO

After 13 years, a radio network shuts down

It was a broadcast experiment that trembled on the edge of failure for almost its entire 13-year history. Even the staff of the money-losing CKO all-news radio network frequently asked themselves about its viability in strong enough listeners and advertisers, screaming "No-Zero" on a workroom wall in its Toronto headquarters and suggesting that its status should be "The sound of no one listening from coast to coast." But when the end finally came last Friday, its subscribers checked even the most hardhearted cynics: Managers to the nine CKO newscasters across the country gathered employees together simultaneously just after noon eastern time on Nov. 18 and announced the network had just shut down. The decision immediately put the 145 staffers at CKO stations from Halifax to Vancouver out of work. Said David Sager, a Toronto-based CKO reporter: "Some people were angry, some people were crying, and some headed straight for the bar."

At a hastily called news conference two hours later in a downtown Toronto hotel, Robert Dittmer, executive vice-president of

Saskatoon-based Agri Industries Inc., outlined the main problems facing the radio network: staggering losses of \$5.5 million since 1976. He said that Agri, which sold CKO and several cable television stations—with about 200,000 subscribers—to Montreal-based Cogeco Inc. in September for \$200 million, continued to manage the network pending approval of the sale by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). Dittmer said the Agri sought the opinion of Cogeco directors before the closure. He insisted that CKO, which lost \$1.5 million over the past two months alone, simply could not be saved. And although CKO's audience, which has rarely amounted to more than four per cent of adult listeners in any of the cities in which it operates, was



CKO's *Therapy Jaggers* 'the sound of no one listening'

employees start their search for new jobs and opportunities, many will undoubtedly be more wary of participating in another broadcast experiment.

JOHN DALY with DAVID TOMLIN in Toronto

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Revolution at Merrill Lynch

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Half a decade ago, when Michael Sanderow, ninety-five New Englander with an Oxford graduate degree in politics and economics, moved in Toronto to take over the Canadian arm of Merrill Lynch & Co., he left little time transforming the sleepy operation into a Bay Street powerhouse. The opening ceremonies in 1985 for his \$150-million new headquarters were typical of Sanderow's flair and sense of occasion. After being greeted in a champagne reception by former U.S. secretary of state William Rogers, his guests were invited to Maple Leaf Gardens for an intimate afternoon with Luciano Pavarotti.

Over in place, Sanderow and his hard-gunglers took on the most sacred financial relationships and captured some of the best accounts. Among other ingredients, it was Merrill Lynch Canada that advised the Richardson & Gulf Canada takeover, acted as chief advisor in the Molson privatization's privatisation of air (Airfield Aircraft) and helped George Blais to spin off Calgary's Stern Foods.

Sanderow's flashy success was based on a simple formula: he identified a domain of the best investors on Bay Street, identified their needs and provided their undivided funds and facilities to using the best underpinnings. Within 28 months, that initial core of superstars, including the Delaney, Dick Scott, Ed Clark, Hugh Turnbull, Tom Ralphy, Douglas Mulhally and Terry McLeod, moved Merrill into third place among Canada's most active investment houses, behind leading Wood Gundy and Desjardins Securities. Sanderow's remarkable wedged himself into the Toronto Establishment by becoming a director of the Canadian Open Company and the Toronto Stock Exchange, well as chairing a United Way campaign.

But his watershed move was committing \$25 million out of Merrill's own coffers to buy an eight-per-cent interest in Great Lakes Group Inc., a private Inc. of the Toronto-Broadway brothers' corporate empire, consolidating

Most international investment houses now make decisions at head office—based on global, rather than national, criteria

Merrill's position as one of the lead underwriting houses for the country's most powerful equity-issuing corporate enterprises. But since early this year, the Merrill name has been mysteriously absent in the numerous new Broadway floats, and late last month an apparent concerning tale between the two men-to-beet when Hugh Clark, chairman of the Toronto-based Tricon Securities Corp., wrote to Sanderow, in effect ordering him to stop following Broadway floats because of some relatively negative comments about how difficult it was to follow the companies' business activities.

Sanderow had previously agreed to the Broadway by signing up with Palmberg's chief executive officer William Jones to defend his young company from Toronto's volatile credit parties. It was Sanderow and his team who put together the \$2.8-billion offer for Palmberg by AMAL Inc. that was supposed to—let's be blunt—head off the Broadway-inspired Narada bid.

Being embraced by the Broadways (which within Canada's corporate world is roughly equivalent to your playground coaching that a visit to Lourdes won't help with either) was only the most visible sign of Merrill's

decline. Nearly all of the fast guns hired by Sanderow have long since departed the Canadian office; head count has been cut by more than a quarter to under 1,000 members among the members couldn't be lower if they were selling futures on the March Lake accord. The problem is not only the lost accounts and the reduced staff but the loss of effective management on the side of the leader.

"What's really happened," Sanderow told me in a recent interview, "is that there was a strategic shift in our New York office into a control system which dictated that we become a pure investment dealer and reduce our merchant-banking presence. Merrill Lynch will now concentrate on our global strengths in regional markets, rather than on each regional market itself. Our firm decided that the value-added global investment-banking business dictated we need fewer people in each area, but with greater experience and knowledge."

Translating into English, it seems to me that Michael Sanderow has lost control of his company, though he mouthily insists. "I'm still Mr. Canada in Merrill's eyes." More significant than Sanderow's eclipse is the introduction into the Canadian corporate market of the new breed of "wolves." It signals that not just Merrill Lynch but most global investment houses have imploded, so that decisions are made by head office based on global, rather than national or regional, criteria. Sanderow and most of the other Canadian heads of investment-banking houses have been stripped of the power to act independently. "The example," Sanderow explains, "is the head of our corporate finance department in New York decides strategically that Merrill Lynch will focus on large, cross-border mergers and acquisitions. He makes that decision from his vantage of the world, then I come in to see how this would work in Canada and we decide we no longer need 40 investment bankers on our staff, that we could do the work with 20, because we'll be coming lower, if bigger, accounts."

Sanderow claims that this will be an improvement because Bay Street's big letters will have direct access to money-market expertise in London, Tokyo and New York City. "I mean," he pleads, "how do you deliver that if you don't have a culture, in the old days, I would have to call London or one of the other financial centers and ask them to lend me their advice, now it's all woven together and every deal automatically flows through the money function in our global network." (That's literally true. Merrill Lynch operates a talent pool establishment in Boston south of New York City that links 17 earth stations with computerized facilities for high-speed transactions, and their data is available to Merrill Lynch account executives each morning.)

"As you listen to me talk," Sanderow confided near the end of our interview, "you may think it's all sounds very acceptable for me. But that's the new reality of today's investment-banking world. You can no longer be an island unto yourself in this business."

The trouble is that Michael Sanderow is dead right.

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New federal funding gives researchers a boost

According to some estimates, insects run up to 30 per cent of some of Canada's agricultural crops every year. Scientists also estimate that insects destroy up to 85 billion cubic yards of timber annually, or about half of Canada's annual cut. But many successful pest-control methods (DDT, which was banned for most agricultural uses in Canada in 1969—has turned out to be harmful to humans and wildlife. Now, under a new, federally funded program, scientists at 10 Canadian universities and three government laboratories will receive more than \$9 million over four years to search for environmentally safe methods of control. Key scientist: Scott Gordon (right), a biology professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., who will lead the project. "The funding will enable us to work on a bigger scale and at a higher level."

The insect-management network was one of 14 programs, involving scientists at scores of Canadian universities, government laboratories and private corporations, singled out for funding under a new \$340-million, five-year federal program called *Networks of Centres of Excellence*. Details of the programs were announced last month by William Waegert, minister of state for science and technology, who declared that it would help scientists to "break down barriers between disciplines, ideas and outsiders" and "improve industrial competitiveness across Canada." The networks are ranked for funding ranged from the Ocean Production Biotechnology Network, which will explore ways of improving fishery production, to the Microarray Health Network, which will investigate projects ranging from preventing the spread of bacteria through building vaccines to new forms for gene therapy, and the Canadian Network for Space Research to study atmospheric phenomena relating to global climate change and polar ozone depletion.

The program, which is aimed not only at pure research but at funding research into commercial products and processes, received praise from scientists as a major boost for Canadian research and development. Peter Menzies, assistant vice-president of research at the University of Toronto, said that networks linked by telecommunications and computers were so effective way for Canada's top scientists to work together despite being separated by the vast distances between universities. Peter Menzies: "Canada is already a world leader in telecommunications. It's a very Canadian solution."

Still, some experts said that the new federal

funding would not be sufficient to offset Canada's low research-and-development ranking among industrialized nations. In 1993, Canada used 18th on a list of 13 industrialized nations.



Robotics used in car manufacturing: new machines will do more complex tasks

with only 1.4 per cent of its gross domestic product dedicated to research and development, compared with 2.87 per cent for Japan, 2.81 per cent for West Germany and 2.68 per cent for the United States. Only Italy, which spent 1.27 per cent of its GDP on research and development, ranked below Canada. Ottawa's new funding, said Thomas Coburn, vice-president of research at Vancouver's Space Frontier Technology, was welcome—but it was "really a drop in the bucket over four or five years. It doesn't make much of a blip on the graph of Canada's support for R and D."

Despite the criticism, the new program will provide badly needed funds for research into some promising—and fascinating—fields of applied science. Highlights:

● A \$6.7-million study to find new uses for concrete will link scientists and designers from seven universities and two consulting firms. One participant in the project, James MacGee, chairman of the civil engineering department at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, said that scientists will "among other things, look for ways of applying new findings about concrete strength and durability to such major projects as the offshore production platforms that would be needed for production in the Alaskan oilfield off Newfoundland off a great ahead. Other scientists will explore the possi-

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hard to think of any part of the economy that won't be affected by science or intelligence systems."

● In a national science study that will cost \$18.2 million in funding during a four-year period, 40 researchers at six Canadian universities, Toronto's Centennial Laboratories Ltd., the Ottawa-based Natural Resources Canada and other laboratories will collaborate on 33 scientific research projects aimed at halting or reducing the spread of bacterial diseases affecting humans, animals and plants.

The launching of the federal program followed a complex process that pitted Canada's leading researchers at a research competition for funds. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney first outlined the program in January, 1988. The federal ministry of state for science and technology then asked the three national councils that are in charge of channeling federal research funds, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council and the Medical Research Council, to draw up guidelines for the program and submit proposals. Eventually, a review committee made up of 23 academic, industrial and government experts from Canada, the United States and Europe was established under Stuart Smith, former chairman of the Sciences Council of Canada. Its committee examined 194 proposals submitted by more than 4,000 Canadian researchers.

Choosing among the competing proposals was "extremely difficult," said Smith, who is now president of Biocliffe Research and Technology Inc., an Ottawa firm that helps in commercial research. "The country's best scientists were putting their best feet forward." The 14 research networks that were finally chosen included more than 800 researchers in the public and private sectors and at 34 participating universities. Smith said he was pleased that Ottawa accepted the committee's recommendations. "The politicians had assumed the right to make the final decision," said Smith. "But the government took the list and implemented it."

The idea of linking scientists at different parts of the country to carry out research projects has a successful track record in Canada. In 1982, the Toronto-based Canadian Institute for Advanced Research was set up as a private, nonprofit corporation to support scientific research. Since then, using \$27 million raised from private corporations, foundations and governments, the institute has funded the research programs involving networks of industry, government and university researchers. Inspired by that example, the Ontario government two years ago designated seven provincial Centres of Excellence involving universities and Ontario-based corporations in a \$300-million research program. Iona Stauch, a University of Toronto physics pro-

fessor emerita, who is executive director at the Ontario Laser and Lightwave Research Centre, said that provincial funding has already helped to spur the development of a new family of short-wavelength lasers and optical fibres. Ontario is the only province to have established such networks.

New Ottawa scientists hoping that the federal program will yield similar practical results. Self-same observers said that the federal program would do little to correct the fundamental problems that have resulted in low levels of industrial and corporate research in Canada. According to Statistics Canada, of the \$7.97 billion spent on research and development in Canada last year, Ottawa contributed

less than 1 per cent. The program, said Fraser, president of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, is that Canada has a research-based economy. Even if governments are willing to spend more on basic scientific research, said Maslove, many Canadian industries simply are not in a position to make use of new discoveries. Yet research has shown, he added, that innovation accounts for 80 per cent of economic growth. As a result, said Maslove, it is crucial in Canada's future that it develop a strong capacity in science-based innovation.

The concern over Canada's long-term ability to conduct scientific research was echoed on university campuses. Margaret Krauss, a biology professor at the University of New Brun-



Calvert (left) with Simon Fraser computer expert Nicholas Crocker on a tip on the graph

about 30 per cent, while the previous contribution was 40 per cent, corporations 43 per cent, universities 30 per cent, private, nonprofit groups 20 per cent and foreign sources eight per cent. By contrast, about 50 per cent of the \$108 billion spent in 1986 on research and development in the United States was funded by businesses. Michèle Allégri, a coordinator in the communications department of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, said that there has been a dramatic reduction in the percentage increases that the federal government has given to the universities for research and development. From 1977 to 1983, the money channelled through the three granting councils grew by 10 per cent a year, but from 1983 to 1989, the increases grew by only five per cent a year, she said. Allégri added, "The money for the Networks of Centres of Excellence is a pool based in period of fiscal restraint, but it does not replace the money that is desperately needed from the three granting councils."

Part of the problem, said Fraser Mulroney,

work in Fredericton, and that it troubled her that the federal program would "divert funding in some people and leave others out in the cold." The level of scientific funding in Canada, said Krauss, remained "very, very insignificant." We have to compete internationally and we are at a disadvantage, compared with funding of researchers in the United States." Denis Caputo, a University of British Columbia commerce professor, and that of Canada is to be "part of the technological spin, then the level of R and D has to go up substantially—unless we want to remain in our traditional, natural resource role. We all know that natural resources will run out eventually." As much as scientists welcomed it, Ottawa's attempt to entice Canadian funding research effort only served to underscore the pressing need for a more broadly based and better-funded commitment.

BARBARA WICKENS with DEXA NGUYEN in Vancouver, JONN BOWEN in Calgary and VALERIE HARRISON in Halifax



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Police with striking miners raising fundamental questions about U.S. labor law

LABOR

A bitter deadlock

Searching for an end to a hard-fought strike

Twisting roads snake through the valleys, around the mountains and into the coalfields of southwest Virginia's Appalachia outback. But for most of this year, miners have found it difficult to drive through the area. The reason: roads are often blocked by hundreds of striking mine workers and the forces of law, order and big business that are arrayed against them. Since the strike broke out last April, the National Labor Relations Board has issued more than 140 charges of unfair labor practices against the mine owners, the Pitkin Co., and against the miners' union, the United Mine Workers of America. In an effort to break a bitterly fought deadlock in negotiations between the two sides, Labor Secretary Elizabeth Dole last week appointed a mediator with a mandate to bring the two sides together in talks aimed at resolving one of the hardest-fought American strikes of the decade.

On the surface, the dispute, involving about 1,700 miners at Pitkin's mines in Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky, centers on a new contract for the miners, who are demanding

increased pay and fighting to preserve valuable health-care and pension benefits. Some of the strike's underlying issues go even deeper, raising fundamental questions about the future of the American labor movement and the future shape and form of the coal industry itself. In the coalfields, union activists have fired some shots at coal trucks driven by nonunion workers, and there have been reports of company guard dogs being poisoned. But, so far, there have been no serious injuries. Mine Workers president Richard Trankis is trying to put the union's sometimes-violent past behind it. In April, he successfully appealed to his members by declaring that "we will overcome Pitkin only by recognizing that might does not make right and that resistance does not have to be violent to be effective."

Still, strikers have complained of vindictive treatment at the hands of the state police. In a daily drama, the strikers and their families, mostly all dressed in military-style camouflage clothing, sit in groups to block the entrances to coal-preparation plants near Virginia communities with names such as Wirt, Dine, Serb,

Derobin and Leichen. Each day, at least, state troopers designed to bring the company gates open physically carry the strikers around buses and drive them to jail. Miners and their families claim that the police go out of their way to make the arrests unpleasant. Sharon Smith, a miner's wife from Leichen, recalled her own arrest. "They kept us in that bus for seven hours. They strapped a couple of tanks but they wouldn't let us off to use the bathroom or even have a drink of water."

Negotiations between the two sides reached a stalemate in June when Pitkin chairman Paul Douglas, angered by the union's demands, refused to have any further meetings with Trankis. In an effort to break the deadlock, Dole named William Query, a labor-relations consultant, as a so-called supermediator in the dispute. Both the union and the company responded by appointing high-level bargaining teams that met for an initial one-hour meeting with Query.

The root cause of the strike revolves around health and pension benefits. In 1958, legendary mine workers leader John L. Lewis led the United Mine Workers to a milestone agreement with major U.S. coal companies, including Pitkin. The industry agreed to make company payments on each ton of coal produced to provide pensions and medical benefits for miners with 24 years of service. In return, the union agreed to let the companies bring in modern machinery that eventually led to the elimination of 300,000 mining jobs in Appalachia. Now, Pitkin argues that competition in world coal markets has become so intense that it can no longer afford to make contributions to a health-care fund covering about 11,000 pre-1954 pensioners and their spouses and widows.

As a result, Pitkin cut off coverage after the old contract with the United Mine Workers expired early last year. At the same time, Pitkin now wants miners earning an average of \$32,000 to pay 30 percent of their own health-care costs.

Meanwhile, both sides in the dispute have vowed to bring arbitrators and countercharges. Trankis has declared that Pitkin's goal is to break the union, and he predicted that if the company succeeded, the nation's coal-mining industry would soon be using nonunion labor. For his part, Pitkin president Michael Olson in August informed to violent activists by union members and declared that "this is the same thing the Ku Klux Klan does, the same thing the Communists do, the same thing the Nazis do."

In southwest Virginia, Jerry Johnson, a miner who says that the first week to work at the mines at age 13 changed the coal companies "have got their own little Third World right here. I didn't even know that you could work for 30-40 years for a company and then lose your medical benefits." Against that background of mutual distrust, the government-appointed mediator was likely to face a difficult struggle to bring peace to the coalfields.

WILLIAM LOFFBACH in Washington, D.C.



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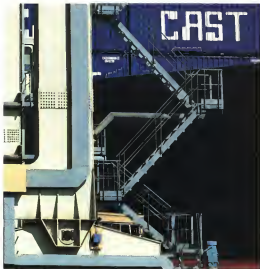
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LAW

Preparing for 1997

A Canadian helps draft Hong Kong's future

Ever since Britain formally agreed five years ago to return Hong Kong to Communist Chinese control in 1997, anxiety among the abilitants of the Crown colony over their future has grown steadily. The June 4 massacre at Beijing's Tiananmen Square, in which hundreds of Chinese students died during a pro-democracy demonstration, increased the colony's concerns. In an effort to encourage hope for the future, Hong Kong Gov. David Wilson in October said that home-creats would begin drafting up a bill of rights—as he hoped that Beijing would respect such a document when the transition to Chinese rule began. Because the British colony of the coast of China lacked constitutional experts of its own, Wilson's staff looked overseas. Barry Streper, a Federal Court of Canada judge who is currently on a three-month posting as consultant to the colony's legal department, was selected to help with the task.

To Hong Kong legal experts, the 57-year-old Streper seemed to be an almost perfect candidate for the job. A native of Moose Jaw, Sask., Streper has almost 22 years of experience as Canadian constitutional affairs. As assistant deputy minister of justice in the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau between 1974 and 1982, he played a leading role in drafting the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In Hong Kong, Streper faces a constitutional challenge just as complex as the ones he confronted in Canada. "I suppose I'm recognized as the Commonwealth's leading expert in this area," said Streper last week in his office at the government law library overlooking Hong Kong's crowded Victoria Harbor. "I'd have some input on the problems that might be avoided bringing in a bill of rights."

Concern about the preservation of human rights in Hong Kong first surfaced in 1984, when British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping agreed to transfer British control over Hong Kong in 1997—99 years after Britain first leased the colony from China's rulers. The declaration stipulated that rights currently enjoyed under British rule by the colony's 6.6-million Chinese population would be preserved after Beijing's takeover.

But because the Sino-British declaration did not carry the force of law, some legislators in Hong Kong have expressed concern that the sweeping powers possessed by the Hong Kong government—including a public-order ordinance that can be used arbitrarily to break up political demonstrations—could be abused by Chinese officials when Beijing takes control of Hong Kong's affairs. Indeed, Hong Kong police

used those powers in September to end a anti-Communist demonstration outside an official banquet marking the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of China.

The Canadian who is helping to address Hong Kong's problems was educated at the University of Saskatchewan, England's Oxford University and Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass. During a six-year stint teaching law at the University of Saskatchewan, Streper served as a consultant in constitutional law to Trudeau when he was federal justice minister in 1967. Then, in 1968, Streper was appointed director of the constitutional-review section of Ottawa's Privy Council Office. Served director of the constitutional-law section of the federal justice department in 1971, Streper, an assistant deputy minister of justice, played a leading role in drafting the 1982

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LAWS

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
Latter, as a Federal Court judge in Ottawa, Strayer presided over a number of cases involving arguments based on the Canadian Charter. Strayer's Hong Kong posting is not his first overseas assignment. In 1979, he helped officials in the tiny Indian Ocean island-nation of Seychelles to draft a new constitution. Said Paul Teller, the influential Clerk of the Privy Council: "Barry has been a part of his life, interested in constitutional law and public law. He is highly qualified."

In Hong Kong, part of Strayer's job will be to advise government officials on how the colony's existing laws will have to change to conform with the new bill of rights. Some observers speculate that the public-order law will be changed. Strayer also plans to suggest a timetable for implementation of various parts of the bill of rights to allow a breathing space in which laws can be adjusted.

Some critics have questioned whether a Hong Kong bill of rights guaranteeing such fundamental rights as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press will help to prevent human-rights abuses following the Chinese takeover. James Allen, a Canadian lawyer and law lecturer at Hong Kong Polytechnic, said that he doubts that such a document will carry much weight with Beijing. Canada's charter works, and Allen, because of his position—the federal government and the provinces—must agree on amendments. But Beijing will not be a party to Hong Kong's bill of rights, Allen said. As well, Allen noted that because Hong Kong does not have a written constitution, there is no way of introducing the proposed bill of rights. Said Allen: "China can come to recognize and say, 'We don't want that.'"

Still, Allen acknowledged that a bill of rights could help to bring international pressure to bear on China to honor human rights in Hong Kong. For his part, Strayer admitted that drafting a bill of rights for Hong Kong would not be easy. Declared Strayer: "We're trying a bill of rights into a system not based on electoral politics." At the same time, Strayer said that the proposed bill could help in the long run to protect Hong Kong's citizens by making the issue of human rights more prominent to legislators and the public. Said Strayer: "It will help to strike a balance between the greater good and the interests of the individual."

In January, Strayer plans to return to Ottawa to resume his seat on the federal bench. Meanwhile, he said that he and his wife, Eleanor, are enjoying the energy and vibrancy of Hong Kong, with its exotic crowded streets and narrow alleyways. Still, after a brief stay, Strayer said that he enjoys the tranquillity of his apartment on Hong Kong's relatively quiet south side. Said Strayer: "They take very good care of me here." Clearly, Hong Kong government officials are hoping that, in return, Strayer will help to draw up a document that will bring a measure of security to the colony's uncertain future.

JOHN KEATING is Hong Kong



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The 112-year war

An Indian band delays development plans

The Teme-Augama Anishnabek have been at war for 112 years and the tribes refuse to quit, even though it has lost every battle. Since 1877, the band, whose name means Deep Water People, has sought government recognition of its claim to 4,800 square miles of forested wilderness 800 km north of Toronto. In recent years, the Indians have turned down Ontario government compromise offers. They have lost in the courts. They have opposed mining and logging companies and angered neighbouring conservationists, which meant that these encounters have resulted in a credit. In the past 18 months, the fight has focused on the Ontario government's decision to build a \$3.5-billion extension to a logging road that the natives have repeatedly blockaded, because they claim that it will lead to the destruction of one of North America's last stands of undisturbed old red and white pine trees. At week's end, the Indians renewed the blockade, hoping to keep it in place until Dec.

31—the Indian's completion deadline. "Weed Teme-Augama Chief Grey Potts, 44. "We will not give up our struggle for justice."

The Teme-Augama land claim, which the Supreme Court of Canada is expected to hear next spring, has attracted national attention, even though the land has only 604 members who live in two Bear Island Lake Teme-Augama. The land claim, compared with other aboriginal claims across the country, is relatively small. George Erasmus, head of the 400,000-member Assembly of First Nations, told Maclean's that the Teme-Augama had the assembly's full support. Said Erasmus: "We are with them all the way." Members of environmental groups led by the Temagami Wilderness Society of New Liskeard, Ont., charged themselves to construction machinery during protests between July and mid-October. Since June 1988, the society has launched numerous legal actions to prohibit the 1,260-square-mile forest. The latest attempt to stop construction be-

gan early on Nov. 11, when the natives set up roadblocks. At 11 a.m., the time on Temagami Day for the ceremony's silence in honor of the nation's war dead, the Indians bowed their heads. Potts said it was fitting that the blockades be renamed on Remembrance Day because "many of our ancestors fought against oppression as allies of the British against the Americans in the War of 1812 and in the first and second world wars."

As well, the Teme-Augama are heading back to court. Head lawyer John Othman of Toronto said that on Jan. 5 he will seek leave to oppose Ontario Supreme Court Justice Paul Philip's refusal on Oct. 27 to grant an injunction halting road construction until the Supreme Court deals with the land claim. Work on the road stopped for 10 days while the application for the injunction was before Philip.

The frequent delays in road construction have antagonized most of the townships of Temagami, a community of 1,500 whose economy revolves around mining and lumbering. Early last week, about 40 residents marched down the main street, demanding that environmentalists withdraw from the dispute. Martin Murray, director of economic development for Temagami and neighboring Lechford, said that the controversy was responsible for putting 350 people out of work when the Williams Mine and Sons Ltd. severed at Temagami went into receivership last December. That happened because uncertainty about the mill's lumber supply led the Bank of Nova Scotia to call in a \$5.1-million loan. The mill has since



Potts at blockade near Temagami: "We will not give up our struggle for justice"

reopened with 73 workers on the payroll. Mine and another company, Gossard Lumber (GTL) Ltd., which runs a sawmill in Temagami, maintain that the 112-year-old forests are essential to local geography. The logging companies belong to Norcicare, an association

of business, labor, municipal, community and conservation representatives, which has been demanding that the government resolve the dispute. The compromise says that the forests could provide more than 300 permanent jobs. The Teme-Augama land claim has been

denied by both the Ontario Supreme Court and the Ontario Court of Appeal on the grounds that the Indians surrendered their rights to an ancient treaty, which the land claims it never signed. But the fight has created unexpected alliances. Dennis Buck, 61, Miller's woodlands manager for 30 years, underwent a heart transplant in 1985 at University Hospital in London. But he told Maclean's that, while convalescing, he had "a chance to reflect on the reaction of my children to what we were doing in the forest." He returned home and eventually left his job. Buck says: "The Indians have kept their land being protected and, unfortunately, at one time I was part of it."

For his part, Jon Oest, president of the Quaker Oats Co. of Canada Ltd., told the Conference Board of Canada in Toronto last month that on a flight over the Temagami wilderness in early October "we created tracks of white-car woodlands that were as appalling to me as acts of deforestation on the Amazon rain forest." But Temagami Councillor, professor of forest ecology at the University of Toronto, said that the logging practices there are just as destructive as those that have been allowed for years in Northern Canada. He added, "What has our case so government is that it is closer to major population centers and is a cottage area." The Deep Water People have found eloquent allies in their fight to save the pine forests. What remains to be determined is who owns the land so which they stand.

RAE CORRELL with correspondents' reports

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PEOPLE

IN POVERTY AND IN WEALTH

They met as teenagers living in a poor Buenos Aires neighborhood. But last week, when superstar soccer player Diego Maradona, 28, married Claudia Villafra, 27, with whom he has two daughters, aged 2 and six months, in their home town, he did it with a millionaire's style. Maradona, who now earns \$1.7 million yearly and almost doubled that with bonuses for playing with Napoli in the Italian soccer league, put 100 gold rings into their eight-foot, seven-and-a-half wedding cake. Villafra wore a \$25,000 lace gown—befitting a rags-to-riches romance.

Maradona (left), Villafra: childhood sweethearts



Out of style

In Brian Deane, Princess of Wales, is considered the queen of fashion, but in Hong Kong last week she was labeled out of style. Evidently wackiness is the British crown required anymore. But Deane, 28, often was a hit during her three-day tour with Prince Charles. The city's popular designer Jimmy Tsang said that Hong Kong women "hate" her. But one Hong Kong insider told us: Deane's bluffs confused them for inappropriate dress after she wore a shiny red, purple and yellow outfit to visit a center for war-dog victims. On the trip, it seems, Deane lost her royal touch.



Deane, queen of fashion controversy

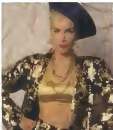
BARKING UP THE RIGHT TREE

Actress Loni Anderson can thank her husband, Bart Reynolds, for engineering her latest major part—the voice of a dog in the newly released animated movie *All Dogs Go to Heaven*. Director Don Bluth said that after he hired Reynolds, 33, to do the voice of a German shepherd, the actor requested that Anderson, 43, also be given a role. So Bluth said that he created a canine for Anderson. Said Bluth: "She plays Charlie's sweetheart, the one he shouldn't let get away—that's just the way it is because there is real life."

SWEET DREAMS

Pop singer Annie Lennox, who affects an androgynous look, says that she does not want to be known as a "female" success story. The 28-year-old singer, who with guitarist and former boyfriend Daniel Streeter makes up the popular Rhythmites, added that she is "bored" by the idea that gender has any relevance. Said the Scottish singer: "People always bawl on how hard it is to be a woman in this business—well, it's very hard to be a man as it is." The Rhythmites, who recently performed in Montreal and Toronto as part of a 50-city international tour, have already sold more than one million copies worldwide of their new album, *90 Two Ave One*. For Lennox, music appears to be the great equalizer.

Lennox: "It's very hard to be a man"



AN AQUINO ON THE SET

Being a president's daughter can open all sorts of doors. For 18-year-old Kristina Aquino, daughter of the Philippines' Corason Aquino, it got her a part in a TV series. While reconnoitering her mother last week on her Tuesday Canadian visit to promote business investment in the Philippines, the younger Aquino, an actress in her homeland, visited the Toronto set of *E.N.G.*, a new TV drama. Coproducer Jeff King said that the *E.N.G.* team was so delighted to see Aquino that crew members gave her a walk-on part as a bystander in an episode called *Till Death Do Us Part*, to air early next year. Said King: "Kristina was very friendly and very busy meeting everyone." Clearly, her mother has trained her well in the art of networking.



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Six actresses find that sisterhood is powerful

Whether exceptions, Hollywood actresses tend to work in the shadow of male stars. And a movie in which a group of famous women share top billing is highly unusual. *Steel Magnolias*, which opens this week in most urban centers across North America, is exactly that. And its cast features one of the most eclectic groups of female stars ever assembled: Dolly Parton, Shirley MacLaine, Sally Field, Olympia Dukakis, Daryl Hannah and relative newcomer Julia Roberts. These six women's chemistry seems to sparkle, especially between MacLaine and Dukakis. But, in separate interviews with *Maxim*, each of the actresses reveals about the camaraderie that they shared during last year's shoot in Louisiana. "It's all very different," said Hannah, "and I know it probably sounds a little camp, but we bonded immediately—we're all inseparable buddies now."

A tale of love and friendship among six women in a small southern town, *Steel Magnolias* is a loud, happy, and comical with a deceptive undertone of tragedy. It is closely based on a hit play of the same title, now in its third year at Broadway. Notice playwright Robert Harling, a former actor from Louisiana, adapted his own script to create the screenplay for *Steel Magnolias*. In the stage version, every scene takes place in a beauty parlor where the women meet to get their hair treated and their gossip-fueled tales are discussed, but never repeat settings.

Filmed in Harling's home town of Natchitoches, the screen version shifts some of the action outside and sketches in the male family members. It also embellishes the play's simple structure with a gaudy string of flashbacks, including Harling, Halloway and Christies. And Hollywood actresses include such hits as *The Godfather* Gert, costars the production with a honeyed gleam of sentiment. But the movie remains faithful to Harling's ironic vision. Much of the dialogue comes directly from the play, which is a collection of sharp one-liners. And the six actresses are superbly cast.

The story—inspired by a real-life tragedy involving the playwright's mother and sister in Louisiana—opens a two-year cycle of misadventure and death. At its emotional core is a woman (Roberts), a beautiful young doctor who decides to have a baby-defying medical warnings that pregnancy and childbirth could

endanger her fragile health. Her mother, M'Lynn (Field), tries to dissuade her. But Shelby is adamant: "I would rather have 30 minutes of wonder!" she says, "than a lifetime of nothing special."

The plot switches between warring between actresses of tragedy and humor. MacLaine as L'Amour as the town's doctor, the town clerk (Dukakis) brings a strong sense of motherhood to the role of Claire, an isolated grade



Parton, Field, Dukakis, MacLaine, Roberts, Harling: they make sparks fly on the screen

school teacher who delights in Owen's misery. As Annie, Harling tries to shed her taboo image by portraying an egomaniacal neurotic who takes a job at the bar salon. And as Truvy, the salon's boss, Parton serves as the group's folksy philosopher with such lines as "There is no such thing as natural beauty."

Steel Magnolias is about small-town women with big hair in the Deep South—all familiar territory for Parton. According to Harling, "Dolly was our southern heartbeater on screen and in real life. She kept everybody in line." But media attention in New York, the city's anchoring on Dixie, clearly showed up in a sliver of black leather boots, head to toe. A dark-lit bar-top beauty parlor of female architecture. Parton: 43 were stiletto heels so high

that her feet were almost perpendicular to the floor. Her fingers sported swelling red joints. And her hair was a wadded whip of blood curls, graced with a black leather band.

Discussing the significance of big hair, Parton said, "It just comes from a country girl's idea of what glamor is. When you're grown up with nothing, you want more of everything—and certainly more hair." She would have become a hairdresser if she had not gone into show business, she added. And before Harling began in Natchitoches, both she and Harling spent several hours a day on location studying hairdressing. "I learned how to cut real good," said Parton. "And now I get the job of cutting everybody's hair, especially my husband's—he'll never go back to a hairdresser."

Sequestered for three months in a town of 30,000 inhabitants, the cast members were easy prey for southern hospitality. "I would



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we certainly couldn't score around 'cause a small town everyone would know." She added that Shepard, who has a small role as her character's mother, looked, "looked and acted" just like her own husband. "But Sam, he was only on the set for eight days," she giggled. "It's probably a good thing he left."

The cast brought together some wildly different personalities. Parnis's good-girl girlfriend, Christianity, and MacLennan's New Age neopagan are worlds apart. "Shirley analyzes everything," said Parnis. "She's always writing a book. When you're talking to her, you better make sure that's what you want to be the book, 'cause it's going to be in there."

MacLennan, 53, arrived in violet slacks and a blouse, her signature hair in a pony cut. "I've freckled from so much tanning that it was a year ago—MacLennan says that she gained 30 lb. for the movie. "I didn't do it as a physical thing," she said. "I did it because I was playing this ugly old cougar, so why not be fat at the same time? There I was with the chocolate pecan pie—I just wanted to let loose." But the actress said that it was "leaky" to watch herself get fat. "There are people who go the

other way," Waters roared—she cornered that market. But it's too soon to do that.

In *Steel Magnolias*, MacLennan's screenwriting partner was Oliver Dukakis, 57, winner of an Oscar for the 1985 movie *Blue Steel* and cousin of defeated U.S. president



Parnis, Shepard's feisty hairdresser and her taciturn husband

candidate Michael Dukakis. Arrived at a black cat with a strand of pearls, she remained loquacious about the shoot. "Making films is usually male-dominated," she said. "With this one, whenever there was a problem, the women tended to converge on it, but very quietly."

Dukakis added that she was especially impressed by Parnis, who resembles the movie's most Catholic saint. "She could make us emotional commitment and maintain it for hours, not just when the camera was on her, but for all the other takes. And because there were so many takes, it became a thing about Sally about her pain and her ability to endure." Added Dukakis, "She's really a wonderful actress."

Field—the double Oscar winner who has yet to live down her poetry "you really like me!" acceptance speech at the awards presentation in 1985—has made a specialty of screenplays dressed in blue ink with a discreet disposition in her neck, she called *Steel Magnolias* "something I have lingered for all my life that God just presented on a plate." Said Field, age 63, "It was the kind of feeling that you have at high school or college when you have a group of women friends. You stay up all night and drink wine and talk and laugh and play games. You fit each other's hair. You're part of each other's life, the serious part and the funny part. I guess we were so loved and crled, the girls in the crew said, 'That's enough we're repaired.'"

Field developed a special tie with Julia Roberts, 32, who portrayed her daughter in the movie. She said that it was "an extremely

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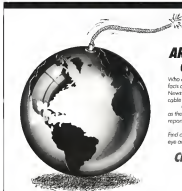
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close, loving relationship." Roberts is the only one of the female cast members who is not an established star. But since her beginning performance in a Portuguese-American waitress in last year's *Mythic Pines*, a modest gem of comic material, her career has taken flight. She's still a rising star right now.

Roberts arrived as a big-shouldered, broad-jawed, where-T-shirt-and-blue-jeans Speaking as a soft Georgia drawl, she seduced herself and, I don't think I'd have the strength to play Shelby," adding that she was herself as more of "a fat dame" than a movie magnet. "But I learned a lot of personal stuff on this movie," Roberts says. But Perl was no maternal towards her that she did not feel the need to phone her own mother for advice.

On location, Roberts found it hard to escape from her character. She went home to a rented house that had pink lampshades and pink curtains—Shelby is obsessed with pink. The young actress also became increasingly involved with the actor who portrays Shelby's husband in the movie (Dylan McDermott). They normally put all their own marriage plans, she said,

because "there's just too much going on." Since completing *Steel Magnolias*, she says that she has turned down more Hollywood roles than she expected to be offered in a lifetime. The previous day, she was shooting a movie and in Chicago "I got on a plane, came to New York, did *Goodbye, Oprah* and *Let's Go to the Sun* and came back."

After playing a Portuguese puss girl and a feisty, southern belle, Roberts is cast as a prostitute opposite Richard Gere in her next movie, *3000*. Costing different personalities for each of her roles, she has avoided typecasting. Daryl Hannah, 36, has had lead roles in that regard. But in *Steel Magnolias* the actress who swam in stardom as a mermaid in *Splash* finally submerges her image in the dumb blonde by donning glasses and a frumpy lewre wig. In New York, Hannah was back to normal, looking stylish in jeans and a new-style cardigan with gold cuffs. Everything about her seemed fragile, the first time, she said, she was the shy whisper of a voice. Hannah said that she rarely does interviews—they make her nervous—but that the other cast members bolstered her confidence. She recalled that they also "rolled around on

the first week of shooting, when I was very nervous." Hannah recalled that she had some difficulty proving to the director that she could look money enough to play Aristotle. But she showed up in the audience wearing reading glasses, which became part of her costume. "I had a very specific idea of how she should look," said Hannah. "I was used to find a fitting underwear so that her panty line would show through the skin." After the interviews with the actresses were over, the movie's screenwriter sat in his hotel room and reflected on his sudden success. "I feel I've gotten away with due one," said Harling, 36, who was an obscure actor doing clothes and risk commercials before his all-Broadway success. Because of the play, he added, "I've been accused of understanding women. But I don't think I'm a particular authority—just an observer." Harling was with the cast for the entire shoot in his home town. "They are all very intelligent, funny actresses," he said. "And they thought, 'Here we've got the guy who lived the story—let's bring him along.'" On location, the screenwriter became a big brother to the cast family. "Dolly was the mother," he explained. "Julia was the baby, Daryl the pup, Shirley the spiritual adviser, Oprah the secretary-at-arms—and Dolly was the life of the party." On the set of *Steel Magnolias*, there was no room for wallflowers.

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Hannah: Inside to Soap

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So sure are we of an act of Irish efficiency, often a bit of an over-the-top. By having to direct and star in his own adaptation of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, British actor Kenneth Branagh appeared to be usurping a legend. In 1944, Laurence Olivier made a movie of *Henry V* that became iconic, and he has since won the double crown of director and star. But Olivier would still be 39—Branagh is just 28. Now, less than a year after the great actor's death, some critics are hailing

so great an object." That "scuffold," which originally referred to the Shakespeare stage, becomes a worthy metaphor for the machinery of film-making. His voice rising from quiet hands to a ringing concert, Branagh flings open a massive set of doors—introducing a word and violent 15th-century pageant.

The most heroic of Shakespeare's history plays, *Henry V* tells the struggle for the title of so English king a winning victory from the French in Harfleur and Agincourt. Olivier's version, produced during the Second World War, reflects the same passions of Britain's struggle against Germany. And it omits some



Christopher Ravenscroft, Branagh (right) nightmare directed in mud and blood

Branagh the Belfast-born son of a carpenter, as the natural heir to Olivier's legacy. That claim may be premature. But Branagh's *Henry V* is so thrilling as full of energy and fire, that it is not unforgotten. For his cast, the director assembled a battalion of Britain's top actors including Paul Scofield and Derek Jacobi. Reprising Shakespeare's poetry on screen, the movie is not only accessible to a general audience—it has enough excitement, wit and suspense to hold its own in the Hollywood trap.

In the opening prologue, Branagh shows the barrier between stage and screen with a dizzying leap of irony. He replaces Shakespeare's Chorus with a man in an overcoat (Giovanni) who guides the camera across an empty sound stage. Rolling past lights and props, he apologizes for the actors, who have "died" on this assembly scaffold to bring back

passage from the play that devolved on the more gruesome aspects of war, including Henry's bloodthirsty threats about "raked" soldiers "spit upon" slain.

But that passage resurges in Branagh's movie, which depicts combat as an anguished nightmare drenched in mud and blood, evoking the trench-level misery of the First World War and the grief of Vietnam. The British seem lankier, compared with the vibrant French, whose red-eyed king (Scofield) challenges the prospect of Henry's coronation. And the camera graphically portrays the hanging of Henry's former drinking buddy, Berkely, which occurs offstage in the original play.

Branagh has made a passionate amateur movie. Yet, despite its gritty realism, his *Henry V* is also boldly theatrical. The five-meter film hangs in what Shakespeare called "the hollow

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Trouble for copycats

A U.S. court rules against 'sound-alikes'

Imitation, according to an old adage, is the sincerest form of flattery. But recent events suggest that it is also one of the surest routes to a lawsuit. Late last month, entertainer Bette Midler won \$400,000 in a landmark case in the federal district court of Los Angeles she sued an advertising agency that she claimed had hired a singer to imitate her rendition of "Do You Wanna Dance?" in a television commercial for the Ford Motor Co. For several years, many advertisements featuring celebrity look-alikes have run disclaimers in Canada and the United States to avoid getting sued. But the Midler case extends the concept of unlawful appropriation of identity to sound-alikes for the first time. Peter Lard, a lawyer with the Los Angeles firm of Anson Ekstrand & Lard, which represented Midler, told *Wired*: "The message to advertisers and their agencies is that they can no longer use sound-alikes in television commercials, where they have been rampant for many years."



Midler's landmark advertising case for the entertainment world

Another celebrity who has entered the fray is gospel-sung singer Tim West, whose soul will go to trial in the federal district court of Los Angeles early in 1990. He is suing \$2.5 million from Philips, Tex-based Phil-Lay and the ad agency Tracy-Lodge of Dallas. West claims that a series of ads for ketchup appropriated his distinctive voice and blue-throated singing style. Up until late last week, there was also a pending case involving a battle from the grave. The estate of pop singer Bobby Darin, who died in 1973, was suing the late food giant McDonald's Inc. of Oak Ridge, Ill. Lawyers for Darin's estate and his son, Donal, claimed that the "Mac Tonight" ad campaign, which features a singing character with a crooked nose, bore a striking resemblance to Darin's chortling 1970 rendition of Mack the Knife. But on Friday, the Darin estate decided to drop the suit. Still, Los Angeles entertainment lawyer Kirk Perich says that

other celebrities are likely to take action as a result of the Midler decision. Protected Perich: "People who have been hesitating will look at the thousands of dollars here and say 'No too.'"

In Midler's case, imitator was a long time coming—and her court award was only a fraction of the \$11.5 million that she had initially sought. The dispute arose in the mid 1980s after Midler declined a request from Young & Rubicam Inc., a leading Madison Avenue advertising agency, to record a revised version of her 1973 hit, "Do You Wanna Dance?" for a Ford ad. The advertising agency threatened Uta Hagen, who had been one of Midler's backup singers for 18 years, to perform the song in the commercial, which in 1985 in an arrangement similar to Midler's. When Midler's suit reached the courts in 1987, a California judge found no

legal principle to support it. A year later, a federal appeals court reversed the decision, granting her the right to sue for the amount she would have made if she had done the advertisement. But she was not permitted to seek further punitive damages. Midler and her lawyers are currently considering an appeal for punitive damages.

Heated exchanges followed the recent round of court proceedings. Asked on the witness stand for her opinion of Ford products, Midler replied: "I think they're cheap. I think they're poorly made and that they fall apart in a year." In the end the court dismissed a suit that Midler brought against Ford—but she went on to sue the advertising agency successfully. Some advertising executives say that her lawsuit's outcome will have a far-reaching negative impact. Saul Young & Rubicam Inc. senior vice-president Rosemary Nelson, Toronto lawyer "If you want to sue a song, you will have to make the decision whether your version sounds like any, some or all of the existing versions."

While there has never been a major Canadian court case involving sound-alikes, the technique has been used by some of the country's agencies. Members of the nation's legal and advertising communities agree, some follow from the Midler decision. Saul Raski McKenney, president of the Institute of Canadian Advertising, a Toronto-based trade organization, "You can't use public figures without their permission—and trying to use look-alikes or sound-alikes is just trying to break the law."

Now, as lawyers consider the implications of the Midler case, new Los Angeles suits are arising that could take the question of image appropriation even further. Adam West, star of the 1960s TV show *Batman*, is suing for \$1 million over a television commercial that ran for the Bayview department-store chain a few years ago. West insists that the actor portraying Batman in the commercial copies his own characterization of the role. Meanwhile, TV personality Vanna White, of the popular game show *Wheel of Fortune*, has launched a suit of her own. An ad for a video cassette recorder manufactured by Samsung Ltd. features a robot who, like White, is a blond, blondly dressed game-show hostess. In one of the fastest-growing areas of litigation, even a resemblance of a resemblance can mean trouble.

FAMELA YOUNG

One Minolta...

...leads to another.

And another.

And another.

And it makes sense Minolta is, after all, a leader* in imaging technology and the world's largest seller of single-lens reflex cameras.

So you get copiers, fax machines and PC workstations of unbeatable quality. With performance levels and features that make your old equipment look positively obsolete. And you also get smiles from all around the office.

Minolta office systems will plug perfectly into your business right now. Call Minolta Business Equipment (Canada) at 1-800-387-5242.


MINOLTA
Only from the mind of Minolta

If more of our kids took professional driving courses, we could get them off the streets.



Canadians are killing or marring themselves on our highways at the rate of 1 every 2 minutes.

A third of them are young people between 15 and 24. How do we stop it?

Studies have shown that in 8 out of 10 cases the cause is driver error.

That's why your Texaco retailer supports driver education.

We're offering a 10% reduction on a Young Drivers of Canada course through our extensive 'Drive to Survive' program. So far, more than 18,000 people have participated.



TEXACO

That's 18,000 more people driving defensively, making the roads that much safer for them—and for you.

But we need every new driver in Canada trained this way to cut the death toll.

Pull into a Texaco service station soon and pick up an application form or call toll free: 1-800-268-4320.

You might keep one more kid off the streets. And a couple be yours.

So please. Let a professional teach them to drive. And survive.

DRIVE TO SURVIVE.

Sponsored by your Texaco Gasoline Retailer in Canada.

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THEATRE

The banality of evil

A bilingual company offers stunning drama

Disagreement over the Nurek Lake scandal may be threatening to tear the country apart, but in Montreal a new theatre company is handily proving that Canada's anglophones and francophones do not have to coexist as two sub-states. Theatre 1774's first production, *Elohi*, which opened last week at the Seneca Theatre Centre, is directed by one of francophone Quebec's brightest young theatrical innovators, Robert LePage. It's the first language of four of the drama's seven actors. But the play is largely in English, reflecting its adaptation from *A Man's Diary*, a poetic English-language novel by Montreal writer Ann Diamond. That bilingual approach reflects the philosophy of Theatre 1774's two founders and creative directors, anglophones Clare Schapiro and Marianne Ackerman. "French-language Quebec theatre is the most exciting in North America," said Ackerman. "It is so profoundly visual, based on striking images. On the



Meusmann and Larkin electric with mutual hatred

other hand anglophone plays complex language and inner meaning. We would like to have the strengths of both."

In the company's first production, the visual vocabulary of LePage dominates from the moment the audience enters. Onstage, a sleek, robot-shaped bedframe contains a bed, a chair and a tiny cradle. On one wall, a group black-and-white film is running: a figure in a ragged coat compulsively washes his face. His reported partners soon become disturbing, effectively establishing the dark psychosis. Irritation is added by the play. As the angry brother, an unnamed man (Nobela Hausman) and his wife (Sophie Larkin) enter. In a silence electric with these mutual hatreds, he brutally makes love to her, and they fall asleep. Most of *Elohi* is their collective nightmare, in which the demons and secret virgins of their subconscious needs take control.

The play is set in the late 1930s, and the husband is shrewd in his domestic life by two Nazi soldiers (Marc Landry and Jean-François Pichet). The wife, on the other hand, dreams that she is a nun in a modified convent. It is a place with a peculiar secret. God himself (Arnie Tupper) has taken refuge there. She and confused, far-petalled pinwheel fantasies about like an oversexed baby, unable to divest himself without the aunt's help.

LePage has drawn out the dramatic similarities of that scenario with living-class beauty

Introducing the cure for Growing pains



Minolta EP420

The new Minolta EP420 and major copiers system is ideal for companies that are growing pains—and want their copiers to keep pace.

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This is merely my best guess, subject to the fact that I have not been able to find any other evidence of the existence of the "Society" in the United States. It is possible that the "Society" was a very small group of people, and that the "Society" was a very small group of people, and that the "Society" was a very small group of people.

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THEATRE

and ingenuity. His actors move with the natural economy of dancers, making generous use of the few props. They take the bed apart and use the slats variously as guns, giant crutches and the lid of a burial pit. *Etoke* also employs one of the most startling special effects in Canadian stage history. When Gato accidentally pokes the roof of the canvased with a tinisereb, half a ton of black bees cascades onto the stage. For the rest of the play they creep the floor.

Some of the weaker scenes of *Enlo* lapse into cliché about the banality of evil. But at its best, the play is extraordinarily powerful. When the couple wake up from their dream, they discover that the Second World War has started. Real Men soldiers are in the streets. "It did not occur to us at first," the wife says "that the war was the result of our courage." Like much of *Enlo*, the moment is funny. But it also drives home the central theme of the play: the evil that marches abroad in the world at the same evil that lurks within people. (Alec)

There is a direct connection between the play itself, aesthetic judgement and public tragedy. Erik's longing of Montreuil's anaphoric and biosophic theatre commentators like the hopes summed up for the young poet who, as director of theatre for many people and as a dramatist, playwright and actor, was a critic of the company that he himself had been the first theatrical presentation by anaphoric took place in 1976 a staging of two Modern plays by the French of the French person in Montreal. To be sure of an audience, they staged the play in French (nearly a second language). There were no French speakers in the audience. The language of the play, "Admirable", "The story of the company" was quite interconnected. "Admirable" was written a year before these events called J. Affaire Torrey, which Thélus called to present next year. And in the same year, Erik will have to Terrence's Theatre group, which was to have found the production, as a failure.

and, in return, that it has been an education—at times a hair-raising one—has been with LePage. "Two right-hand men opened, he threw out two other names and completely changed the ending," he said. "We have had two production assemblers get in frustration. It is as if all hell were loose!" Advertiser letters state that the 306-seat hall had been built for Achernbach's school. "Most of the space now is empty," says LePage. "Most of the time, the school feels nothing exciting is happening for them here either. We would like to change their minds." Paul Thompson, director of Montpelier's Notional Theatre School, says that, although he came late to a bunch of fresh air in the city's atmospheric theatre scene. There has been a predictably soft English-language production in this town," he said. "It's only one thing up." Certainly of 1988, 177 city residents were in the audience for LePage and his troupe of Black Swan, Theatre a Montpelier and others in the same area.

JAMES B. BOWEN JR. is Assistant

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TELEVISION

Betrayed by the law

*Donald Marshall's story
reaches the small screen*

JUSTICE DENIED
(CBC Nov. 29, 8 p.m.)

For 16 years, the saga of Donald Marshall Jr.'s trials and wrongful imprisonment has engaged the Nova Scotia courts and engrossed the national media. The May 1993, murder of black teenager Sandy Seale in a Sydney, N.S., park—the whale Marshall, a Cape Breton Mi'kmaq then 37 years old, was accused to the beloved jury—has already given rise to a trial, an appeal, two RCMP re-investigations and three trials of Ray Ebary, the man who was later convicted of killing Seale. Official scrutiny of the affair also has included negotiations to determine how much money Marshall should receive for compensation for his 16 years and 8 months in jail—he was awarded \$270,000 in 1984—and a royal commission that will release its findings next January. The case has also spawned one book and countless media reports into the Marshall tragedy.

A painful version was perhaps inevitable. And justice denied writer-director Paul Cowan's drama, based on journalist Michael Thériault's book of the same name, is a powerful re-creation of the Marshall story. While the two-hour film does not tell any new ground, it is an affecting and judicious chronicle of the sorry trail of accidents, negligence and deceit that robbed Marshall of his youth. Justice Denied begins with the late-night fatal encounter that set the procession of events in motion: Marshall (Olivier Méneilly) and his black companion Seale (Troy Adams) bump into the derisive, racist Chassey (Wayne Robson) in Sydney's Westworth Park. The encounter becomes ugly and Chassey plunges a knife into Seale, slashes at Marshall and then goes home to clean the blood off his weapon as his estranged teenage daughter watches.

Seale dies the following night, without ever relating his account of the stabbing. And, despite Marshall's repeated pleas of innocence, Sgt. of Detectives John MacIntyre (Thomas Prosser) refuses to believe the native teenager. Instead, through his bullheaded, if young, "intuition," MacIntyre builds a case against Marshall. From there, Cowan's strong script highlights all the way stations in Marshall's long and dizzying fall to trial before an all-white jury whose outcome seemed a foregone conclusion, a shockingly casual 1971 RCMP re-

Oh, Charles,
the bracelet wasn't necessary.



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misgivings of the crime, the desolate drone of the years in two prisons, and official shroud insistence that Marshall should shoot his guilt before they could grant him parole.

Cowen's camera, arid without being sentimental, presents the story with chilling force. Among the many effective cast members is Murray, a 29-year-old Cree from Manitoba who powerfully conveys Marshall's anguish. The film also features a convincing performance from the wronged man's father—Donald Marshall Sr., Grand Chief of the Nisga'a Nation who plays himself. Cowen's sparse, plain dialogue rings with the cadence of Miami and Cape Breton accents. Underlying the action is Montreal composer Jean Corneille's electrifying score, which is alternately lush and provocatively raw.

Still, *Justice Denied* has its flaws. A few of the scenes seem inert. Peacock looks both the physical statue and glowering brow of Sgt. MacPherson, while Robson, 46, is simply too young to play Blaney, a man who was, even at the beginning of the story more than 12 years older than Robson is now. The film ends abruptly with Marshall's release 15 years prison, leaving unexplored those years of public and private turmoil unexplored. The ending implies release and freedom when, in fact, the saga of Marshall's life was only entering a new, more public phase.

The scope of the royal commission, launched by an emboldened Nova Scotia government in 1987, was to reach out beyond the sad facts of Marshall's life to examine the administration of justice itself. Some evidence suggested that a few more government forms of justice was poured out in government. Superintended of banking the law. But the film neglects that best of the story. Indeed, Cowen—whose previous credit include *The Kid Who Cried at Miss*, a controversial film about pilot Billy Bishop's exploits during the First World War—at times glosses over some of the worst of work in the Marshall affair, including the miscarriage appears to have contributed to the wrongful conviction. Donald MacNeil, the balding and bombastic prosecutor at Marshall's 1971 trial, had like others, been hired to make departing verdicts about.

It may well be beyond any film's scope to deal with such issues as a story that begins as a petty crime—a legitimate assault on a Sydney park—and was as unrelentingly by social and legal sanctions. And it is tedious to see *Justice Denied* find answers to mysteries that have eluded so many others: how is using people in the small community of Sydney knew who killed Seale and got allowed an innocent man to languish in jail; and how so many Canadian politicians conspired to get and keep the ship and society next. MacKenzie youth in prison. There may some be scholarly interest in those puzzles, but in the meantime, Cowen's honest and painful film goes a long way towards keeping those wretched questions alive.

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BOOKS

Sounds of silence

Sign language can be as eloquent as speech

SIGING VOICES: A JOURNEY INTO THE WORLD OF THE DEAF
By Oliver Sacks
(Scribner, 180 pages, \$23.95)

While doing research on the deaf, New York City-based neurologist Oliver Sacks visited the island of Martha's Vineyard, Mass., which, until the 1940s, had a significant population of deaf people. There, he met an elderly woman with normal hearing capacity who occasionally dozed off during their interview. But, ones while she dozed, her hands were in constant motion. The woman Sacks discovered "was thinking in her mind in American sign language as 'Signs.' Like other hearing people in rural communities with sizable deaf populations, she had learned Sign to communicate with her neighbors. Sacks's new book, *Seeing Voices*, shows that Sign can be as rich and compelling as any spoken language.

Sacks, who has written four earlier books about curious and neurological phenomena, including the 1987 best-seller *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat*, begins with an absorbing history of the deaf. From there, he comes to a lively discussion of the relation of thought to language. The author never abandons his readers to medical jargon, but illustrates his ideas with sensitively drawn portraits of deaf people. Sacks points out that people used language in order to think. Deprived of language, they are trapped in a purely perceptual world, unable to express their thoughts. Joseph, 31, is such an individual. Deafened as a toddler, his deafness was not diagnosed until he was three, and he had never been taught any means of communication. "He looked alive but unawake," Sacks writes, "but profoundly baffled, his eyes directed to our mouths and hands respectively, uncomprehendingly, and, it seemed to me, yearningly."

The author closes with an evocative report of an spring last year at Gallaudet University in Washington, D.C.—the world's only liberal-arts institution for the deaf—where students demanded that a deaf person be appointed president. Their struggle was part of the larger fight to have Sign widely recognized as a real language, rather than mere pantomime. In his previous, richly detailed account, Sacks notes that signers eloquently

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BOOKS

'Picky, picky, picky'

Dr. Foth supplies a feast of tasty tidbits

BIRDS OF A FEATHER, THE PRESS AND THE POLITICIANS

by Allan Fotheringham
(King Porter, 206 pages \$24.95)

Allan Fotheringham—Dr. Foth to you, Phil Al to me, multiple media star in all, has voice and happens to be a scold—a lady of note. I hear the scold. When I was a drinking man, I would watch martinis with Allan along the campaign trail and in Ottawa's better taverns. But a friendship that never lacked liquidity. I owe him much. Al is a pit for all seasons, including the Four Seasons.

But, as Foth would say, I digress. Come to think of it, *Birds of a Feather* is a book of digressions. Fotheringham never met an anecdote he didn't like. The collected wit of the good Dr. Foth—is only made up on camera, but we know who works sitting down—has earned him a national reputation as an observer of the political scene.

"To find out where the real power sits in Washington," he writes, "don't read the front pages or the editorial pages. Read the social pages. That's where you find out who eats with whom." This advice is suitable for Washington, or any other capital you could name. The implication that social gossip might occasionally be true deserves study, *Birds of a Feather* could serve as a basic text.

First gossip is about the private affairs of public people. Otherwise, it's not gossip. Gossip is pointers toward the traditional equation of journalism—"Get it first and get it right"—launched, it becomes getting it secondhand, and usually wrong. Further, if we rely on gossip, how can we know the gossamers are telling all they hear?

Matters of fact, Phil Al tells us (such admirable candor), that if the wife of Canada's ambassador to Washington had slipped the fact of her actual ancestry to the press as of himself—instead of conveying the flow of rumors in public view—journalism Fotheringham would not have published the story. "I was a friend of both Soong and Allan Gaultiel," he explains.

That's okay, anyway. Fotheringham was so forth when the scandal occurred, "waiting impatiently for the tardy good story. George Bush, to stress." But pick the Foth, suppose—instead of Cousin Canada—the ambassador's wife had hung one on Bush?

"It's a constant nightmare," ponder Foth. "The only anyone survives . . . is to know occasionally what to know and." The trouble with gossip and gossamers is that we never



Fotheringham: a sat-down comedian

know what's left out. We know, however, that The Sky, as Al calls it, made the front pages. But even what's left out should occasionally be left out. *Birds of a Feather* is illuminated by the author's accounts of the careers of his critics in no day's tomorrow. These include the immortal, such as Walter Lippmann and Bruce Hutchison (same good stuff here), unto Julie Van Dusen, and Mary Joanne ("who had some of the best sources in Canada, which easy or may not have some thing to do with the fact she has been a friend of, and a new married to, Bay Street millionaire Tom Kinnear").

Then, there's Fotheringham on Toronto Star columnist Doug Fisher. Foth on Fisher is, as Phil Al once said (I think) like eating popcorn while watching a movie; the movie may be a stinker but the popcorn is always good. Foth on

Fisher is good popcorn. "The most useful Ottawa columnist is a member in Doug Fisher, a helpful man who often scores strange reasons that he always puzzled me (I don't see like me)." So let. This would make Fisher an impostor. But there is more. "[Fisher] stumbled into journalism—a very intelligent man who doesn't know how to write. He's a Messianic by instinct, and so he simply piles the facts and opinions one on top of the other."

Here—Al, help! You think maybe it's a mystery Fisher doesn't like you?

Fotheringham provides hints of details on Fisher. Most of them wrong. "[He] first achieved fame by spouting the tyrant of the Pearson government, C. D. Howe" (Howe served in the King and St. Laurent governments, not in Pearson's). "He reads a book a day" (it's true, Al). "Fisher has four sons" (five, Al). "Fisher was an 'out of town' when his third son, Tobias, was born. Tobias's mother did not give him his name, Doug did. The hateful Mearns named him after Tobias Smollett, the 18th-century novelist."

But, it's like Al often says, "Picky, picky, picky."

Did I enjoy this book? Not too. Will Phil Al enjoy this review? Sure your money. Will he get even? Give odds. Does he need an editor? A checker? A publisher? Do baseball players spit? On page 164, note the 66-word sentence—it fits a recent ball score 1944 by John Milton, author of *Amateurism*. Don't John's book for Kinnear, parse that sentence, if you're done by Jan. 1, Happy New Year.

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HAGGARD'S BEST-OF-BEST LIST

FICTION

1. *Clash and Personal Danger*, *Clash* (1)
2. *The Dark Hall*, *King* (2)
3. *The Return of the Hawk*, *Juliet* (2)
4. *Spy Lines*, *Graham* (2)
5. *The Bonito House*, *Le Crest* (4)
6. *Deadly*, *Steel*
7. *Tecumseh's Pandemonium*, *Lee* (6)
8. *Strength*, *Freeman* (7)
9. *A Personal Greeting*, *Devin* (5)
10. *Solomon Goring Way*, *Haggar* (6)

NONFICTION

1. *The House Is Not a Home*, *Julien* (1)
2. *Reasons*, *Lee* (2)
3. *A Woman Named Justice*, *Shannon* (7)
4. *Crimean Lullaby*, *Clash* (5)
5. *The Canadian Living Book*, *How Goodbook*, *Freeman*
6. *China Falls*, *Conson* (5)
7. *Freemasonry*, *Freeman* (7)
8. *The Source of a Good Life*, *Agnes* (10)
9. *Other Lives*, *Agnes* (2)
10. *I in a Canadian Garden*, *Julien and White* (6)

Picture and text compiled by Ryan Bellhouse

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All the comedy that's fit to print

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

One of the wonders of the age is the amount of bareheaded baldness that, once uttered, can find its way into solemn print. Ponderous sentences, if missing fractious right legs, are turned to holy writ. Newspapers, put together by cynical old geezers who can actually tell you who Tuck Bravlin was and can remember the Habsburg post comedy that insinuates to let his larger dream that protocol is rotten truth.

Our current example is a straight line carried in all Canadian papers the other day involving Jean Chretien, the man described by Nelson Gwynne "always looking like the driver of the getaway car." It announced that Mr. Chretien, the shy lad, had announced that he would announce in January, that being January of 1996, whether he would be running for the leadership of the Liberal party.

Now, this must not be. Those of us who take out a margin living trying to squeeze a few laughs out of the thin gruel of politics resist a moonlighter. Chretien gets a very suspicious story from a large and well-known law firm in a greater and bigger paper. Why does he have to be a stand-up comedian also? Why can't he leave the field to those of us who make us honest living out of it?

Chretien announcing that he hasn't quite decided whether or not to succeed John Turner is rather like Tommy Prime. Baker declaring that she is against socialism (Don't know, of course, that they accepted all the makeup of Tommy Prime's face—and beard Jimmy Hoffa's).

Jean Chretien wants the Liberal leadership more than I want to win Lotto-Ontario. He can taste it. He tastes and turns on his yellow dressing of a. You cannot enter an airline terminal at the land without raising one's eyebrows on his way to his relentless pursuit of delegates who will all concentrate their feisty gaze on Jean in Calgary when the Gens will accept the success as to blue-eyed John.

There may have been pure determined efforts to pursue of a party leadership in Canada as luxury. Perhaps I won't know when Mercedes-Benz was a pay for later taking in taking to his dead page). There may have been



But I doubt it. The humble little guy from Stouffville—being he was yanked out of the big job to the post establishment in 1984—has been knocking and plotting and scheming and hustling ever since, to spite that wing.

Nothing untoward about that. Politics is not softball. He wants the crown so much he can sweat it on his tongue—and has told such persuasive candidates in Sheila Copps not to waste her money since he has it wrapped up. That's okay too. But why are the innocent students hit, again spending their leisure time, with the spurious counselling that he is tottering on the edge of education, wracked with the knowledge that he must wait—in his own civil trial calendar—until January to decide if he might, perhaps, venture on this new course of life?

Everybody in politics knows that Jean, the darling of Alberta, who absolutely loves his pro-souper act, has been running heavily for the leadership from approximately 30 seconds

after J. Turner lost his second successive push-up with B. Mulroney. Everybody is persuasive knows it. If so, why do we print such jibes in the news that Jean Chretien, in January, in the fulness of time, will announce his soul and actually decide whether he wants to be a future prime minister of whatever of Canada is left after March Lake has been drained?

If you want to look at the stats (as I do constantly, having nothing else to do with my old tinsel) you will find that newspaper readership is general over the past few decades has not kept up with the increase in the population. Newspapers have a struggle—in the battle for the public's attention span—with the competition of television and radio. In this struggle, it is suggested that perhaps the problem might be solved somewhat if there were a clear distinction between the fact and the comedy sections of the paper.

Chretien is not the only example. Justice Minister Leves, the diamond need to hold that post since Hiler's way, stands with a straight face, has been assuaged by microphones, and admits that the leaves are about as legible as a secure government effort to solve the dilemma. When everyone over the age of consent (and some under) knows perfectly well it is the attempt of a cowardly government, to find a way of offending neither the ultra-right nor the pro-choice factions. As a result, they have played neither—the true life of a leadership that has no philosophy, only polls.

It is comically exceeded perhaps only by the Marx Brothers government performance that is due to make a leadership roll at Douglas Smith, who as a spin looks not of academics about freedom of the press but a great case in salary for Smith from his grateful Global TV copywriters who had never dreamed of such perfection.

The newest polls is guaranteed every day with such phrases as the Christian announcement that he hasn't quite decided to do what he already has decided to do. Chretien, on the way to his dream, his negotiations are at 13 provinces. He has millions at his back fund, necessary for any month on the leadership. He does not really practice law; he travels the nation in the perfectly honest and time-tested mode of striking strangers who are going to show up in a delegate in Calgary in June where all the candidates will willingly pose in July when he knows if they think that might garner the same score delegates—or a last-second clip on the one-eyed cop member.

We don't mind the Chretien nonsense that he attempts to pass off as news. But please don't pass it off as news.

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